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THE CRISIS

RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Vol. 4, No. 6 OCTOBER, 1912 Whole No. 24

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PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 26 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Edited by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, W. S. Braithwaite, M. W. Ovington, Charles Edward Russell and others.

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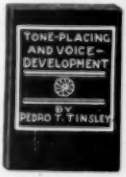

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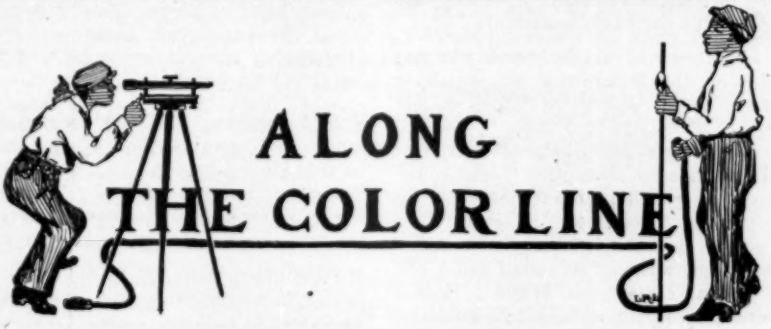
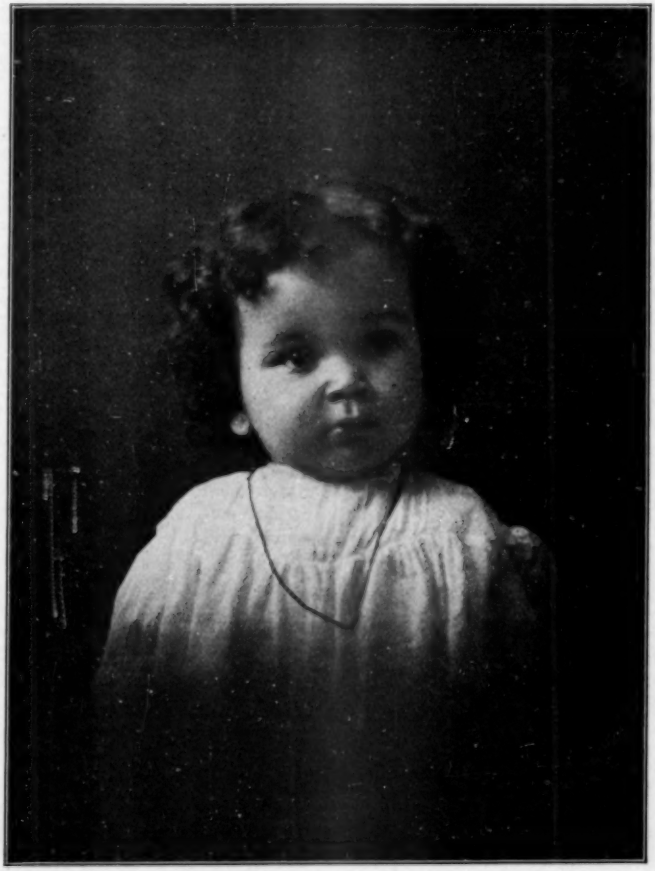




POLITICAL.

COLORED men are being barred from the councils of the Bull Moose party in Louisiana and Kentucky, as well as other Southern States. In Ohio, on the other hand, forty-eight colored delegates are being sent to the State convention.

¶ J. L. Mitchell of Rhode Island, who was delegate to the Progressive convention at Chicago, is still supporting Roosevelt, but declares:

"I do not agree that Roosevelt was right in his attitude in attempting 'steam-roller' methods, so called, in connection with the contests among delegates for seats in the convention. I contended that the Southern Negro delegates should be seated and I still hold to that contention. While I do not advocate Negro political leaders, I hold that the Negro is working for the success of the party just as much as the white man is and that he should be on equal footing with the whites, especially in States where mixed delegations were sent to the convention."

¶ In the United States Senate Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania declared that George W. Perkins had underwritten $3,000,000 to be used in buying Negro delegates to the Chicago convention last June, away from Taft and in creating "fake" contests in the South.

¶ Five election officials have been arrested in Oklahoma by United States deputy marshals. They are charged with refusing to register Negro voters. Other arrests are expected.

¶ In Arkansas the heavy Negro vote has killed the proposed grandfather clause.

¶ In Ohio the objectionable word "white" was not stricken from the constitution by the vote in the late election.

¶ The State political convention of colored men has met in Boley, Okla., to consider the preservation of constitutional rights at the polls. Delegates have been regularly apportioned among different parts of the territory and every organized Negro church has one delegate.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

AN invention which promises to revise the signal system on various railroads of the land has just been patented by Percy Clay and George Washington, two colored men of New Orleans.

¶ Among the guards on John D. Rockefeller's estate are eighteen armed colored men.

¶ A permit has been issued in Jacksonville, Fla., for the erection of a five-story masonic building at the corner of Broad and Duval Streets. The building will cost $10,000 and will contain a bank, business offices and lodge rooms.

¶ In Providence, R. I., 600 young colored women sold tags throughout the day in order to pay an indebtedness of $10,000 on the Watchman Industrial School. There was a station in each of the department stores and the young women also worked on the streets.

¶ Plans for a $100,000 Y. M. C. A. to be erected in Atlanta, Ga., are well on the way. There will be reception rooms, lecture rooms, kitchen and dining rooms, baths and swimming pool; two floors will be used for dormitories; separate boys' departments will be maintained. The building will be seven stories high.

¶ Strenuous effort is being made in St. Louis by both colored and white people to lessen the friction between the races due to the expanding Negro population and the demand for better homes. The committee for social service among colored people, organized in 1910, devotes itself entirely to social and industrial problems affecting colored people, the special object being to remove discriminations on account of color in the work of public and private agencies for social betterment. The committee is in no way attempting to offer a solution for the "race problem," other than by securing for colored people the same forces for relief, employment, medical care, recreation, education, etc., as exist for the rest of the community.

During the last year this committee has been instructing thirty-nine people in methods of social service, has secured admission of colored organizations to the new delegate body, the Central Council of Social Agencies, has arranged a general conference to discuss the social problems of colored people. State provision for the care of delinquent colored girls has been advocated and a start made.

¶ A joint committee, composed of both white and Negro members from the social-service conference and the committee for social

service among Negroes, has been formed to study the question of housing Negroes in St. Louis.

The first step will be the construction of a map showing the location of the Negro population and the movement of population in the last ten years. An inquiry will be instituted into housing conditions, including a comparison of rents and locations.

At the same time the committee will make a country-wide investigation of segregation and friction between the races, particularly in the border-line cities, including Washington, Baltimore, Louisville, Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, New York, Chicago and Kansas City. This will form the basis for a statement of the facts for and against segregation, which will be published by the committee.

The committee will act as a board of arbitration in specific cases of friction and attempt to prevent fraud and misuse of Negroes and whites in real-estate transactions.

¶ A modern hospital for colored people is being planned in Knoxville, Tenn.

¶ The census reports that in 1910 there were in continental United States, as a whole, 9,827,763 Negroes, of whom 2,050,686, or 20.9 per cent., were reported as mulattoes. In 1890 there were 1,132,060 mulattoes reported, or 15.2 per cent. of all the Negroes, and in 1870 a total of 584,049, or 12 per cent. Thus the figures taken at their face value show that about one-fifth of all the Negroes in 1910 had some admixture of white blood, as against about one-eighth in 1870.

This report is, of course, far below the truth. There is little doubt but that one-third of the colored people in the United States have white blood.

ECONOMICS.

ONE of the oldest amusement places in Los Angeles, Cal.—Luna Park—is about to be purchased by colored people. The total investment will be about $70,000 if present arrangements are completed.

¶ The three counties with the largest amount of land owned by Negroes are said to be Macon County, Ala., with 61,689 acres; Liberty County, Ga., with 55,048 acres, and Louisa County, Va., with 53,268 acres.

¶ Samuel F. Jones, a colored farmer of Delaware, has recently died, leaving real estate valued at $25,000.

¶ The Alabama Penny Savings Bank, a colored institution, celebrates its twenty-second anniversary by the occupation of a new building. This modern fireproof building is being erected on 18th Street, between Third and Fourth Avenues, Birmingham, Ala. Colored laborers are being employed entirely.

¶ The Birmingham *Age-Herald,* in a report concerning the colored people of Memphis, says that there are 500 families there owning homes valued at $5,000 and upward. One widow owns an estate of $300,000 and a colored letter carrier is worth $150,000. The colored Solvent Savings Bank has over $100,000 in deposits, and there are sixty colored letter carriers in the postoffice.

¶ The report to Congress on taxation in the District of Columbia shows how the burden of taxation falls upon the colored people and poor whites, while the rich people escape. The laborer's house is taxed at 90 per cent. of its value, while the houses of millionaires are taxed at about 50 per cent.

¶ Hannibal, Mo., is the seat of the largest colored insurance society west of the Mississippi. It is known as the Home Protective Association and has a membership of over 20,000.

¶ Forty-seven colored men have each taken up a tract of 640 acres at Brownlee, Prairie County, Neb. Colored men of this section own 28,600 acres.

¶ A factional fight has broken out between the colored and white branches of the longshoremen's union in Galveston, Tex. The locals, it seems, demanded that equal numbers of whites and Negroes be employed in cotton "jamming." It seems that only Negroes were employed and the whites are in bad temper.

¶ One feature of Labor Day this year has been the growth of its observance as a Negro holiday by workingmen in the South. In Nashville, for instance, there were large crowds in colored parks and parades of colored unions. Colored playhouses had special bills.

EDUCATION.

JAMES F. BOURNE, a colored druggist, who was appointed to the Atlantic City board of education by the outgoing mayor, has been confirmed in his right to hold the office by the State authorities.

¶ The General Education Board has given during its first ten years of existence $2,107,500 to higher education in the South. Practically none of this has gone to college education for Negroes. For industrial work and a few secondary schools for Negroes the board has appropriated $464,015.

¶ Preparations for the opening of the Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School for Negroes, which is located out on Centennial Boulevard, Nashville, Tenn., are being rapidly pushed, in order to have the school ready to open this fall.

All the buildings—main, academic, industrial, dormitory for women and dormitory for men—are finished. The furnishing, now in progress, will be completed soon.

¶ Ruth Marion Peters of Dorchester, Mass., who is doing missionary settlement work in Boston, had her first experience at Beach Institute, a colored school in Savannah, Ga. She says:

"At Savannah, where I have been for the past two years, there is no public high school for colored people. There are not even enough graded schools to accommodate the children. Beach Institute was started by kind-hearted people in 1867 to help fill this lack. Of the six teachers at the school five are Northern women. The past year we had 150 students about evenly divided between the lower grades and the high school. A class of twenty-four was graduated May 22, 1912. On the whole, I have found colored children as bright as corresponding classes in the Northern schools. And they are so likeable that one entirely forgets their color."

¶ The United States Bureau of Education in a monograph on mathematics in public and private secondary schools has something to say concerning the relative mathematical ability of the colored and white race.

"The general feeling in the institutions covered by this report is that the difference between the races in the matter of mathematics, in so far as any differences exist, are due to conditions rather than to race characteristics."

Thus another pet theory of Negrophobes seems about to come to grief. In the West Indies the schools specialize on mental arithmetic, and the colored children are amazingly good at it.

MEETINGS.

IN the latter part of August and the early part of September are the convocation weeks of colored America.

¶ The National Medical Association, composed of 526 members and representing 3,500 colored doctors and dentists, met at Tuskegee, Ala. Clinics were held, lectures by prominent physicians, both colored and white, and public-health conferences. A great deal of charity medical work was done for the surrounding country population. The next session will be held at Nashville, Tenn. The following officers were elected: J. A. Kenney, Tuskegee, Ala., president; Walter Alexander, Orange, N. J., secretary; Percy Roberts, New York, assistant secretary, and J. R. Levy, Florence, S. C., treasurer.

¶ The colored Odd Fellows met in Atlanta, Ga., to attend the sixteenth session of the biennial movable committee. The colored people literally took the town, exclusive white parks being opened to them, sessions being held in the great auditorium and public officials welcoming them. Permission was given them to parade "without guns." There is a great deal of internal dissension in the order.

¶ In Chicago the National Negro Business League held its thirteenth annual session with a very large attendance. The session was held at the Institutional Church, and Julius Rosenwald was among the speakers. The next meeting will be in Philadelphia in August, 1913. Mr. Booker T. Washington was elected president; Mr. Charles Banks, first vice-president; the Honorable J. C. Napier, chairman of the executive committee. The interest of the newspapers was largely centered on the reports of rich colored men. E. W. Green of Fayette, Miss., said he was worth $80,000; David Nelson of Little Rock, Ark., $50,000; Watt Terry reported an income of $7,000 a month from $500,000 worth of real estate.

¶ The annual meeting of the national convention of Negro Baptists was held in Houston, Tex., with several thousand visitors.

¶ The Lott Carey Baptist convention met at Portsmouth, Va.

¶ The fifth annual convention of the National Association of Colored Nurses took place at Richmond, Va. Miss Mary F.

Clark was elected president and Miss Floralla Porter, corresponding secretary.

¶ Negro masons have met in various States. The Alabama Grand Lodge reported 24,000 members and an income of $104,000 during the year. They are planning a home for indigent masons and an industrial school.

¶ The Knights of Honor of the World met in Birmingham, Ala., with representatives from sixteen States.

¶ The eighteenth annual session of the Afro-American Council of California has met in Oakland, Cal. Women were admitted to membership for the first time.

¶ The thirteenth annual session of the Illinois State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs was held at Rock Island, Ill.

¶ Negro fairs are beginning their annual meetings in various parts of the South.

¶ The national convention of the colored Elks was held in Dayton, O. H. H. Pace was re-elected Grand Exalted Ruler.

¶ The forty-fifth annual session of the Order of St. Luke's met in Richmond, Va., with 2,000 delegates and visitors from nineteen States.

¶ Because of so many meetings a press dispatch from New Orleans says that four special trains loaded with colored people from various parts of Texas and the Southwest passed through the city early in September.

PERSONAL.

ROBERT H. CHURCH of Memphis is dead at the age of 74. His wealth, which consisted of more than 350 dwellings in the city, is estimated at over $1,000,000. Mr. Church began life on a cotton plantation and he was the father of Mrs. Mary Church Terrell.

¶ Mrs. I. B. Birkins was left $10,000 in the will of J. W. Creech of Herrington, Kan. Mrs. Birkins was an orphan colored child and was reared by the Creech family.

¶ John J. Mills, a thrifty colored farmer of Chester, S. C., won the annual contest by bringing in the first bale of cotton.

¶ Mr. Joseph Manning of Alabama, who has a wide acquaintance among colored people, has charge of the colored bureau of the Taft campaign committee.

¶ Alfred J. Morshan is the first Negro graduate of Lebanon University, where Negroes were formerly not admitted. He also happens to be the five-thousandth graduate of the school.

¶ The first colored lawyer, Robert N. Stevens, has been admitted to the Berkshire County bar of Massachusetts.

¶ John Livingston, a colored playmate of Mark Twain, died in Oregon City, Ore. He left an estate of $15,000.

¶ Dr. Solomon P. Hood has been appointed chief organizer of the emancipation celebration exhibition for the State of New Jersey.

¶ An angry and terrified bull ran amuck in the business district of Savannah, attacking a street car, wrecking a barber shop, an express office and the mailing room at the Union Station. It narrowly missed killing a number of persons, but was finally overtaken, roped and thrown by a little colored boy riding on a mule.

¶ Stonewall Jackson, the crack colored sprinter of Southern California, is being sought after by the colleges of that section. The *Daily Times* of Los Angeles says every college wants him "and if anyone of them has ever drawn the color line it will undraw it if he knocks at the door. He is a prize worth going after, for he showed in the national interscholastic meet at Chicago that he was the best high-school sprinter in the country."

¶ Governor Foss of Massachusetts has nominated Joshua A. Crawford, a colored lawyer, to be clerk of the Boston Juvenile Court. If confirmed by the council he will succeed another colored man, Charles W. M. Williams. The governor has three times nominated William L. Reed, for the place, but the council rejected the nomination.

¶ One of the last things done by Congress before adjournment was the passage of a pension bill including a pension for Rebecca Struthers, an old colored woman of Parkersburg, W. Va., for whom a bill had been introduced by Senator Watson. The bill has been signed by the President and is now a law.

¶ Madison White, a Negro, has been granted a life pension by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad after having served the company as porter for more than fifty years.

MUSIC AND ART.

THE third annual music festival, under the auspices of the Atlanta Colored Music Festival Association, was given August 15 and 16 at Atlanta, Ga.

The festival opened with the pageant "Up to Freedom," depicting three stages of progress—paganism, slavery and freedom.

The Atlanta *Journal* says of the production: "It was interesting because it was the first performance of the kind in the history of the world; and it was significant because it took place in the South, where the Negro was sold into slavery and where he must work out his destiny as a free man. As a dramatic production, it was a brilliant idea rather crudely worked out. * * * It could be made magnificently impressive. There is plenty of the 'human interest' element in the evolution of the Negro; the accompaniment of Negro voices in characteristic Negro melody gives a peculiarly appealing operatic touch, and the story has a natural setting that is full of color and charm. All things considered, the performance was good. It was a credit to the author and to the performers. The singing was very fine. The Fisk Jubilee Male Quartette and Mme. Anita Patti Brown, who has a soprano voice of wonderful tone and power, were the features."

An organ recital was given Friday afternoon by Mr. Roy W. Tibbs, a recent graduate of the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, who presented a program of high merit.

At the closing concert Mr. Harry T. Burleigh, the distinguished baritone composer of New York, was heard in numbers from the composers Ponchielli, Coleridge-Taylor, Massenet, Cyril Scott, Sidney Homer and Will Cook, with requested numbers of his own compositions.

Miss Lulu Vere Childers, contralto, of Washington, D. C., who directed the choral work, contributed much to the success of the festival.

¶ According to a native musician of India, named Irayat Khan, now in London, the oldest musical instrument in the world is the venna, the invention of a musician living in the days of Akbar the Great.

This instrument, together with two others, the seeta and the disturba, will be introduced at a concert soon to be given in London.

¶ Miss Kitty Cheatham, the American singer, has lately given interesting and varied programs in the Little Theatre, London, Eng., under the patronage of H. R. H. Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein.

Her greatest success was scored in the old Negro songs, especially "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," and "When I Come."

¶ The annual operatic festival has taken place at the Deutsche Landestheater at Prague. One of the six operas presented was Meyerbeer's "L'Africaine," the scene of which is laid in Portugal and Africa, and the principal character that of Selika, a slave maiden.

¶ A musicale was given on July 5 at Washington, D. C., by the Apollo Glee Club and the Hackley Choral Club, of the Pianoforte School, of which Mr. J. Hilary Taylor is director.

¶ During the summer months at Boston, Mass., Mme. Azalia Hackley, soprano, has conducted with much profit to the singers a number of free choral classes. Mme. Hackley will soon be heard in Boston in a recital of French songs.

THE GHETTO.

ON September 14 a test contest of the celebrated Baltimore segregation law came up in the courts and will be carried through the United States Supreme Court if necessary. Mr. Harry Hechheimer, white, and W. Ashbie Hawkins, colored, are the lawyers in the case. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is interested in the matter.

¶ Difficulties on account of the moving of colored residents into white neighborhoods have arisen during the month in the Harlem section of New York, in Kansas City, Mo., in Chicago, Ill., in Washington, D. C., and in St. Louis, Mo. It is said in St. Louis that in order to protect R. A. Hudlin and his family the city is spending $15 a day, or $450 a month, to guard his home from possible attack by whites who resent what they term a "Negro invasion" in their residential district.

The guarding by policemen began early in May, and if it is continued two weeks longer the city will have spent $1,800.

Several times the sheds in the rear of Mr. Hudlin's home have been fired, and after that the police guard was established at the cost of the city. Five policemen are detailed to guard the premises.

¶ Twelve prominent residents of East Hollywood, Cal., entered the home of Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Bywater, Negroes, at 1206 Kingsley Drive, a fashionable neighborhood, and ordered them to leave the house and the neighborhood within thirty-six hours.

"I come from Texas," said one of the leaders, "where the Niggers have no rights. You've got to get out."

¶ White and colored newsboys had a race riot at Memphis, Tenn., which it took eighteen policemen to quiet.

¶ It is said that the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Bennett Medical College and Yenner Medical College, all of Chicago, will in the future refuse to matriculate colored students.

¶ The colored and white teachers are by law compelled to attend teachers' institutions together in West Virginia. At the Cabell County Teachers' Institution, goaded to desperation by the annoyance of white school teachers, several of the young colored women made public complaint to the superintendent, saying that they were annoyed by being struck with paper wads and that their protests had been received with sneers. A committee was appointed to investigate the point and the State superintendent called. The committee brought in a resolution deploring the incident, but after a bitter debate the resolution was voted down.

¶ Difficulties about voting continually recur in the South, especially with regard to primary election. A writer in the New Orleans *States* says that it is "stated that the names of Negroes had been discovered on the registration rolls in the fifth ward. In reference to this charge, I desire to say that the shoe pinches on the other foot. I am prepared to show that in the last January primary election one of the men who served in the polls as a commissioner for the Good Government League is reported in the records of the city board of health as a Negro. It seems to me that the part of wisdom should preclude people who live in glass houses from throwing stones, and this is exactly what the Goo Goos are doing when they are attempting to hold the regulars guilty of having Negroes on the registration rolls."

¶ In Kentucky the Jefferson County board of education has raised an interesting question as to the right of colored voters to vote in an election for white school trustees. The matter was referred to the attorney-general by State Superintendent Hamlett and the attorney-general advises that the matter be settled in court, as he is a member of the State board and would have to pass on the question in that capacity if brought before the State board.

It is contended that colored voters are only allowed to vote for a colored visitor to schools and not for trustees, for if they could vote for white trustees then the door would be opened for the election of Negro trustees. The law distinctly provides that only white trustees shall be elected and that seems to settle the matter, but it will probably be taken to the courts for final adjudication.

¶ By a bare majority the Garrison bill, intended to bar Negro firemen from locomotives on the Georgia Railroad, passed the House of Representatives, but failed to pass the Senate.

The bill prescribes an educational test for firemen of engines on all railroads operating in Georgia, a test which will virtually eliminate the Negro, and it was fathered and supported by union firemen and other labor organizations.

¶ The aldermen of Winston-Salem, N. C., have passed an ordinance segregating the Negro population in East Winston. The ordinance forbids Negroes to own or occupy property on East Fourth Street, between Depot Street and the city limits on the east. It also forbids the whites from occupying any property on Third Street from Depot Street to Ridge Avenue. The fine for the first day's violation is $20, and $5 for each subsequent day such premises are occupied.

Whether or not a city has a right to segregate the whites and Negroes has never been decided in North Carolina. The action of the aldermen is based upon the action of the State in segregating the white and Negro schools.

¶ Two cases have recently arisen in New York where delinquent colored girls sent to correctional institutions have been refused admittance in those institutions. One was the case of Ethel Washington, 16 years old, at Niagara Falls; the other the case of Lillian Faggard, who was not criminal in any sense, but did not want to live at home. No correctional institution would take her.

¶ In Kansas City, Mo., the hospital board recommended that white internes be installed in the colored hospital because none of the five young colored men who took the examination for the four vacancies had met the required 75 per cent. The president of the board had the papers secretly re-examined and remarked by disinterested experts.

It was seen that No. 1, who had received a grade of 30 per cent. on the part of the visiting staff, had been given 89 per cent.; No. 2, who had received 63 per cent., was graded 83 per cent.; No. 3, who had been given 55 per cent., was raised to 85½ per cent., and No. 4, whose grade was 63 per cent., rose to 87½ per cent.

The colored men were appointed.

¶ Charges are being made in Philadelphia that colored men who pass civil-service examination with high average seldom get appointments. As a "flagrant example" of the drawing of the "color line," colored men refer to the experience of W. J. Blonding, 220 W. Coulter Street, Germantown, who stood fifth on the list of eligibles for water inspector. Eight appointments were made, Blonding, colored, being notified by letter, his friends say, that he had been selected among the others, that his salary would be $900 a year, and that he was expected to report on a certain day.

When he appeared he was told, according to his friends, that the "head man" was not in. He made a second call, and several days later is said to have received a letter that the place to which he had been appointed had been obtained by some one else.

"Upon demand for further reason for the action," one of his friends declares, "he was told that he could not be allowed to fill the position, which he merited and to which he had been duly appointed, because of his color."

¶ Pennsylvania has a carefully devised method of segregating poor children and foreigners and colored children in certain public schools away from the rich and well-to-do. This custom was changed in Pittsburgh recently, and as a result 200 of the high-born children went on a strike at being compelled to go to school with foreigners and Negroes. They sat on the lawn all day.

¶ Miss Rachel Brown of St. Louis is being threatened with tar and feather because she employs a colored lawyer to look after her property.

¶ City Commissioner R. Braswell of Montgomery, Ala., is not going to allow colored and white people to see the same prize-fighting pictures hereafter. It seems that in a local show, while the Johnson-Flynn fight was being called out, the building contained several hundred people on the lower floor while the galleries were reserved for the blacks, and there were about 500 of them. Whenever Johnson landed a neat one the colored people above roared and the feeling was ugly.

"It is disgraceful, it must stop," exclaimed the commissioner, "and I can assure you it will not be permitted again. Negroes cannot hear a matinee of this kind in the same place with Caucasians."

COURTS.

THE effort of the white Elks to exterminate the colored Elks is still going on. The colored Elks, who have already spent a good deal of money in litigation, declare that they will fight it to the last ditch.

¶ In Sapulpa, Okla., suit for $1,000,000 has been filed in the District Court here on behalf of Charles Clayton, a Negro, who some years ago married a Creek Indian woman, against the Texas, Prairie and Gulf Pipe Line Companies and B. B. Burnett, a local banker and guardian for Clayton's children. Clayton seeks to recover title to oil lands in the heart of the Glenn Pool district which it is alleged belonged to his wife and a child which was born ten hours previous to the time the Creek rolls closed and died a few hours later. According to a recent decision of the Supreme Court, the father is sole heir to the child's estate, also that of his wife. In the past it has been held that a non-citizen could not inherit Creek property. Fifty-three producing wells are on the property, which is valued at $50,000,000, and $950,000 worth of oil has been taken from it, according to the suit.

¶ Two young white men have killed two Negroes in Montgomery, Ala.

¶ At Brooksville, Fla., eleven Negroes were rescued from three deputy sheriffs by a band of armed Negroes, who fired and slightly wounded two of the officers. A posse has gone in pursuit of the Negroes and a serious clash is feared.

¶ About a year ago J. H. Turner, a well-known colored business man of Savannah, Ga., was lured to a lonely spot in the woods,

murdered and his automobile stolen. The crime was traced to two young white men. One of them was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. He appealed and on a technicality the verdict was reversed and a new trial ordered. At that trial both men were acquitted, although the evidence was conclusive. One of the justices of the Supreme Court said that the "evidence showed a shocking case of murder." Both the Savannah morning papers score the verdict. The *Press* says:

"To allow men like these to go unwhipped of justice is an outrage upon the community, insult to the law and justice. The courts and community have suffered from this verdict, and yet we are powerless to do more than protest. This, however, we will continue to do."

¶ Four years ago Ira Perryman, white, killed Philip Cook, a Negro, in Anniston, Ala. The case has been fought through the courts up to the Supreme Court of the United States and has finally come back to the city court, where Perryman is at last to be tried for murder.

LYNCHINGS.

SINCE our last issue colored men have been lynched and burned as follows: Monroe Franklin at Russellville, Ark., accused of assaulting a woman; at Cummings, Ga., Ed. Collins, accused of assisting another colored man in assaulting a woman; at Greensville, S. C., Brooks Gordon, accused of assaulting a woman; at Humboldt, Tenn., Will. Cook, shot for refusing to dance for some young white men; at Princeton, W. Va., Walter Johnson, for attacking a white girl. It is acknowledged in this latter case that a mistake was probably made and the wrong man killed. The press dispatch says that the girl "was not injured, although she is in a hysterical condition due to fright." In Memphis two white boys burned a white tramp alive after pouring oil over his clothing.

¶ The grand jury has indicted three men for the lynching of a colored boy at Columbus, Ga.

¶ Mobs have been chasing Negroes in Gadsden, Ala., and Chattanooga, Tenn.

¶ Negroes have been killed by policemen in Richmond, Va., Bessemer, Ala., Chicago, Ill., Birmingham, Ala., Louisville, Ky., Charleston, S. C., New York City and St. Louis, Mo.

FOREIGN.

MR. HAR DAYAL has been appointed professor of Indian philosophy and Sanskrit at Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.

¶ The British Foreign Office has issued as a "white paper" a pamphlet of over 100 pages containing the diplomatic correspondence between the British and Portuguese governments dealing with the recruitment of slave labor for the plantations of San Thomé in Portuguese West Africa, which threatened at one time to rival the scandals in the rubber regions of the Congo.

The new regulations, according to Consul Mackie, would leave nothing to be desired if observed with a reasonable degree of impartiality and care, but the disappointing manner in which the laws framed for the benefit of the Angolan natives had been disregarded in the past did not encourage the hope that the helpless condition of these natives would be much improved so long as they were left, as at present, in complete ignorance of their rights.

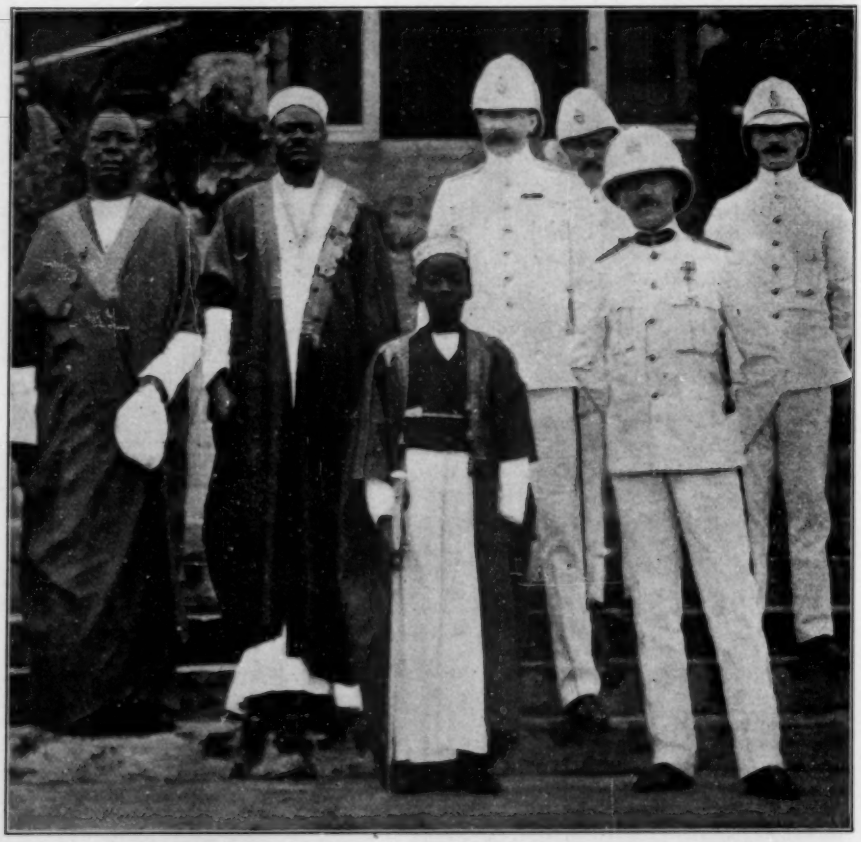
¶ General Luis Mena, who is leading the revolt in Nicaragua, has for some time been minister of war. For a long time Mena and President Diaz were boon companions. Mena is a colored man, stands six feet high, is the idol of his soldiers and possesses a breadth of view and grace of manner rare in a man of so few advantages.

¶ Charles Young, United States military attaché in Liberia, has been made a major in the United States army. This is his little son's picture.

A BLACK BOY WHO IS KING.

DAUDI CHUA, the thirty-seventh king who has ascended the throne of Uganda, was born only seventeen years ago. Under the overlordship of the British Empire, and with the advice of three native regents, this boy rules over 4,000,000 black folk in a territory as large as New England, New York and Pennsylvania combined.

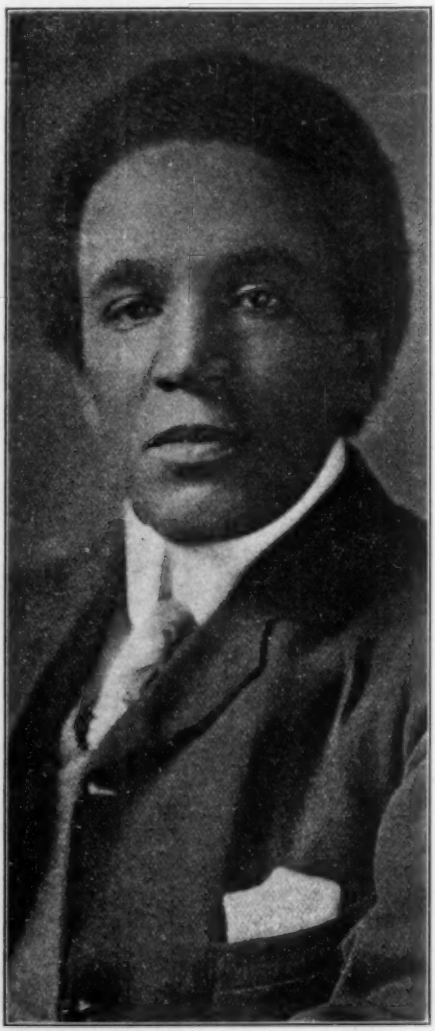
His kingdom is situated in East Central Africa, in the region of the great lakes, on the borders of the vast and beautiful Victoria Nyanza. The land has had a curious history. Either Egyptian civilization had its earliest beginnings here and spread down the Nile, or, starting further north, spread northward and southward. At any rate here in Central Africa one sees the Egyptian type in black



DAUDI CHUA, KING OF UGANDA, WITH HIS REGENTS

faces, finds the same musical instruments and boats. There is much legendary history covering the thousands of years between Egypt and our day which cannot be recounted here. The first modern king of Uganda, Kimera, ascended the throne about 1400, and was contemporary with Henry IV. of England and Joan of Arc.

Since that day slavery, war and rapine have swept over the land, and finally came Mohammedanism, white explorers and Christianity. King Mutesa received Stanley and killed a white bishop, which finally resulted in English conquest. But the conquest was not complete and the result was that the native dynasty was left in control. In 1897 Mwanga, the last of the wild kings, was deposed and Daudi Chua, his infant son, ascended the throne. The young king is receiving a modern education and seems a serious-minded, earnest youth.



THE LATE SAMUEL COLERIDGE-TAYLOR

HIAWATHA

GWENDOLEN

A GREAT MUSICIAN.

TWO children who must be very dear to the hearts of colored America are left fatherless to-day by the death of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, at the early age of 37. The father of this distinguished Anglo-African composer was an African surgeon of Sierra Leone, who came to London to study medicine and married an English lady of excellent family. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor showed his remarkable musical gift at the age of 4, early began the study of the violin and became a chorister at St. George's Church, Croydon, when a boy. In 1890 he entered the violin department of the Royal Academy of Music, where he also studied composition under Sir Villiers Stanford. During his third year at the institute he won the prize offered for the best composition, and in 1894 was graduated with honors.

Mr. Coleridge-Taylor, at the time of his death, was an associate of the Royal College of Music, London; a professor in Trinity College and Crystal Palace, London; conductor of the Handel Choral Society and the Rochester Choral Society, England. A few months before his death Mr. Taylor became associated with Mr. Landon Ronald, principal of the Guildhall School of Music, where he had charge of the choral choir, the orchestra and the opera.

As a composer Taylor was versatile and prolific. Numbered among his works are songs, pianoforte and violin pieces, with orchestral accompaniment, trios, quintets for strings and clarinet, incidental music, sym-

CLEO AND LEO

phony, orchestral and choral works. The popularity of his early work, the "Hiawatha" triology, served to divert attention from his many other beautiful conceptions.

Likened to Grieg, who has by his Norwegian themes created a style of his own, and to Brahms, who has done so much with the Hungarian folk music, Mr. Coleridge-Taylor, intensely racial, found his deepest inspiration in the Negro folk song. Characteristic of the melancholy beauty, barbaric color, charm of musical rhythm and vehement passion of the true Negro music, are his symphonic pianoforte selections based on Negro medolies from "Africa and America," the "African Suite," a group of pianoforte pieces, the "African Romances" (words by Paul L. Dunbar), the "Songs of Slavery," "Three Choral Ballads" and "African Dances," and a suite for violin and pianoforte.

Mr. Coleridge-Taylor's latest compositions recently published are: "Othello," a suite for pianoforte, from the incidental music to Sir Herbert Tree's like-named production, and which the London *Music Times* says should live long after Sir Herbert Tree's production has became historical; the "Hiawatha Ballet," absolutely new music, and his last choral work, "A Tale of Old Japan," which is being performed with great success throughout England.

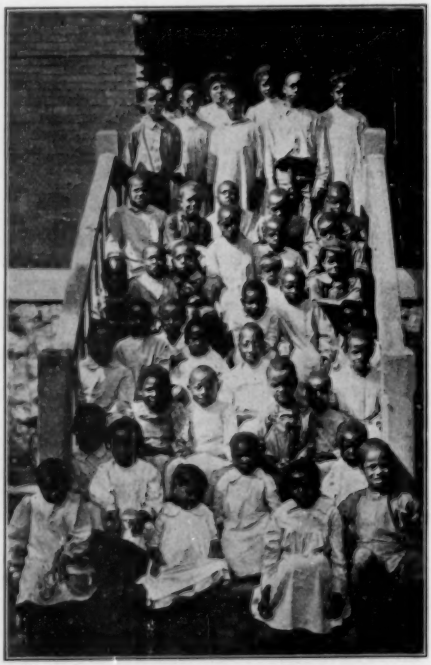
Mr. Coleridge-Taylor possessed a charming personality. He was an unassuming, earnest man, sincere and enthusiastic in his art. He leaves a widow, the daughter of an English professor of music, and two children, Hiawatha and Gwendolen.

OUR YOUNGEST AGENTS.

ONCE upon a time there lived in a Western State a little boy and girl who were twins. Their father was dead and their widowed mother used to go twenty miles away to teach so as to support her three children, returning home once a week. Now Leo and Cleo might have pouted and pined and wished for things they did not have; but instead they began to think what they could do to help mother. So one day in 1911 a letter came to THE CRISIS office asking if we would like to have two agents in this Western town, and that if so the 9-year-old twins would like to try. Thus we gained the youngest of our agents and we have them yet. We are very proud of them and so is their mother, we are sure. If there are other little boys and girls who would like to help their mothers and fathers perhaps they will write us.

AN ORPHAN HOME.

TWENTY-EIGHT years ago a white woman, Almira S. Steele, came to Chattanooga, Tenn., and started a home for needy children. Since then she has cared for and



THE ORPHANS: BEFORE

MRS. STEELE AND THE ORPHANS: AFTER

educated 1,200 colored children, gathering them in from the streets, living with them, attending to them, teaching them. She has had no easy way. Most of the funds for the work Mrs. Steele has raised in the North, although the city, until recently, appropriated ninety-one cents a week for each inmate. This year the city has stopped that appropriation and Mrs. Steele writes:

"I appeal to the city, county and State officials as to whether it has paid to have taken in over 1,200 needy ones to feed and train in my way. I dare not ask private individuals to take my part, for I am in a very unpopular business, and people hate to lose their social standing by espousing a cause which is looked down upon, but I do wonder why so many have voluntarily told me they know our children from any others in town because of their gentle manners, good deportment and correct language. I certainly never asked for or expected that much, as I realize the work is only partly done. I tried long ago to keep cows for milk, but I lost twenty-seven in a short time; so I gave that up. I tried hens and lost fifty-four in a week.

"My first three buildings on this site, one for boys, one for girls and an industrial building, were burned just eighteen months after they were dedicated. We were offered the old Georgia Avenue schoolhouse, as it was empty; there we were set on fire three times in the night. I've lost five buildings by fire at Summit, our country home, where we spent fifteen summers. The ten-acre lot there was donated by Mr. and Mrs. Burgess. Besides the loss of the first three buildings in town, I have lost three other wooden buildings by fire, and none was insured. A colored woman named Little tried many years ago to send me to the penitentiary for taking an orphan girl living with her from a house of ill-repute, where she was waiting on the white inmates. I sent the child off at my expense to Atlanta University. Through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Bachman, who testified as to the child's age, because the mother had been a servant in his family, and he knew the girl was old enough, according to law, to choose her own guardian, I was released from the prisoner's bar and the girl was put under my care."

This is the sort of battle that is daily fighting in the South, and we are glad to commend this tireless soldier of the common good, who has worked so nobly and so long in a great human cause. THE CRISIS would be glad to forward any contribution to Mrs. Steele's work.

AWAKENING OF RACES.

A very interesting article on the "Awakening of the Colored Races" appears in the English scientific review called *Bedrock*. Mr. Basil Thomson says:

"In the sense that no race now exists which is not, in some degree, touched by the influence of Western civilization, the present day may be said to be a fresh starting point in the history of mankind. Whithersoever we turn, the law of custom, which has governed the unprogressive races for countless generations, is breaking down; the old isolation is vanishing before railway and steamship communication; alien laborers imported by European settlers are intermarrying with them; and ethnologists of the future, having no pure races left to examine, will have to fall back upon hearsay evidence in their study of the history of human institutions.

"The present population of the world is believed to be about fifteen hundred millions, of whom seven hundred millions are nominally progressive, and eight hundred millions are stagnant under the law of custom. It is difficult to choose terms that even approach scientific accuracy in these generalizations, for, as Mr. H. G. Wells has remarked, if we use the word 'civilized,' the London 'hooligan' and the 'bowery tough' immediately occur to us; if the terms 'stagnant' and 'progressive,' how are we to class the Parsee gentleman and the Sussex farm laborer? The terms 'white' and 'colored' land us in worse difficulties, for there are Chinese many shades whiter than the Portuguese. Only in May last the liquor laws of South Africa, which make the possession of liquor by persons not of European descent illegal, were stultified by a magistrate who decided that a Turk born in Constantinople was an Asiatic, and not entitled to the privileges of European descent, and that a colored Portuguese, charged with the same offense, was a European. * * *

"It is probably safe to predict that the rate of the more virile races will decline as the change in their habits begins to affect them. It has been stated that the European will double his numbers in eighty years, the Chinese in sixty and the African Negro in forty; if this rough statement were even half true, and the rate of increase were maintained, the outlook for men of European descent would not be very bright; but, making all deductions, it is still evident that the overpopulation of the globe is within sight unless some unforeseen agency intervenes to prevent it.

* * *

"In a very interesting appendix to an interesting book, Lord Cromer has discussed the evidence as to intermarriage between the dominant and subject races in classical times. The real test by which race hatred is to be gauged is the test of intermarriage. If two races live side by side for a century or two without any intermingling, one might say that the color bar is a natural and

not an artificial sentiment. As Lord Cromer observes, it is certain that the marriage of Roman citizens with foreigners was regarded with great disfavor, and the offspring of such marriages was considered illegitimate. Virgil condemns the marriage of Antony and Cleopatra in unmeasured terms; Roman society was scandalized by the relations of Julius Cæsar with Cleopatra; Titus was obliged to part with Queen Berenice. All these cases were due rather to the pride of Roman citizenship and to contempt for barbarians than to any color bar. Intermarriage did take place very frequently; the Roman soldiers, who were taken prisoners by the Parthians in B. C. 53, married native wives, and though Horace considers this a disgrace, he would equally have regarded it as disgraceful if they had settled on the Elbe and married German wives, or on the Thames and married British wives, for two lines earlier he couples Britons and Parthians together. No evidence has yet been found of any color antipathy having been a bar to intermarriage. Juvenal certainly regarded the black skin of the Ethiopian as a physical defect, to be classed in the same category as bandy legs, but Juvenal bespatters all foreigners alike with his satire, irrespective of the color of their skins. * * *

"Much turns upon the question whether race antipathy is inherent, for when two races are brought into contact and competition there can be no middle course; either race antipathy must disappear, or one breed of man must dominate and extinguish the other. Race hatred has seldom been dispassionately studied. It is felt most strongly in the United States and the West Indies; a little less than strongly in the other British tropical colonies; in England itself it is much weaker, and is confined generally to the educated classes who have lived in the tropics. In France, Spain, Portugal, Holland and Italy it is scarcely noticeable. One cannot say, however, that it is confined to races of Teutonic descent, for the Germans and the Dutch who live in the tropics scarcely seem to feel it. It is, moreover, a sentiment of modern growth. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Englishmen do not seem to have thought colored people their inferiors by reason of their color; the only race hatred in the middle ages was anti-Semitic, and this was probably due to the Crusades. The color bar seems to have dated only from the time of slavery in the West Indies, and yet the Romans, the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the Dutch, who were the great slave owners in history, do not seem to have felt it. Shakespeare saw nothing repulsive in the marriage of Desdemona with a man of color, or he would not have dared to invest Othello with a mantle of heroism; Iago's disparagement of Othello would have been far more pointed and bitter in its personalities if color prejudice could have appealed to the audience. Early in the sixteenth century Sieur Paulmier de Gonville of Normandy gave his heiress in marriage to Essomeric, a pure-blooded Brazilian, and no one thought that she was hardly treated. History is full of romantic examples of the marriage of Europeans with colored women—to cite no more than de Bethencourt with his Guanche princess, Cortes with Doña Marina, and John Rolfe with Pocahontas; and even in these days women of Anglo-Saxon blood have been known to mate with Chinese, Arabs, Kaffirs and even Negroes, despite the active opposition of their relations. It is, of course, well known that certain races will fuse less readily than others. East Indians, introduced for working the sugar plantations, have been living among the Fijians for thirty years, and cases of intermarriage between them may be counted on the fingers of one hand, while, on the other hand, Chinese and Negroes in the same group of islands marry native wives and have children.

"At the dawn of the twentieth century we see the racial future of mankind through a glass darkly, and in our time we cannot hope to see it face to face. But certain features are already clear. A white skin cannot forever be a sort of patent of nobility. Race prejudice does not die so hard as one would think. When the European finds himself in a state of political inferiority he is ready enough to drop his racial pride, and to adapt himself to circumstances. The Portuguese of the sixteenth century paid their court to the 'Emperor of Monomotapa,' a Bantu chieftain, into whose power they had fallen, and the English sailor of the forties, who, when he landed in Fiji, called the natives 'Niggers' with an expletive prefix, might very soon be found playing body servant to a chief who spoke of him contemptuously as 'my white man.' * * *

"There is nothing as yet to encourage the belief that the white and the colored races will coalesce to produce an intermediate type, but it is a common error to believe that

intermarriage on a large scale would be physically disastrous. The half-caste offspring of such mixed marriages is supposed to inherit the vices of both races, and none of the virtues. In so far as this accusation is true, the social ostracism in which these people are condemned to live would be sufficient to account for it. Disowned by their fathers, unrestrained by the customs of their mothers' folk, it could scarcely be otherwise; but those who have lived with Eurasians and with half-castes of many races agree that in aptitude they are equal to the average European, when they have the same education and opportunity, and that there is no physical deterioration in the offspring of the marriages of half-castes *inter se*.

"In Java, where the Dutch regard them as their social equals, they are eligible for the highest positions in the colony.

"In tropical countries the line of caste will soon cease to be the line of color: there, as in temperate zones, wealth will create a new aristocracy recruited from men of every shade of color. In India and China it is possible that the process may be accelerated, for the labor unrest and the high wages in Western countries may drive manufacturers to transfer their capital to countries where labor is still cheap, plentiful and efficient. Even in the great cities of Europe and America we may find men of Hindu and Chinese and Arab origin controlling industry with their wealth, as Europeans now control the commerce of India and China, but with this difference—that they will be wearing the dress and speaking the language which will have become common to the whole commercial world, and as the aristocracy of every land will be composed of every shade of color, so will the masses of the workers. In one country the majority of the workers will be black or brown, in another white; but white men will work shoulder by shoulder with black and feel no degradation. In many parts of the world they do this already. There will be the same feverish pursuit of wealth, the same struggle between labor and capital, but all races will participate in the distribution of wealth instead of a favored few. The world will then be neither so pleasant nor so picturesque a place to live in, and by the men of the coming centuries the Victorian Age may come to be cherished tenderly as an age of romance, of awakening and of high adventure. Perhaps the historians of that day may speak of it as we speak of the Elizabethan, and may date the new starting point in the history of mankind from the decay of the law of custom."

POLITICS. Mr. Roosevelt has again explained in the *Outlook* the attitude of his party toward the colored man. The editors of the *Outlook* give the explanation this rather extraordinary endorsement:

"He has, in fact, taken the ground of reason and justice—the ground that in a representative government no man is to be accepted as a representative unless he does in fact represent the community from which he comes; and no representative is to be rejected if he does in fact represent such community. It is perfectly notorious that the Negro delegates who have claimed to represent the extreme South in Republican conventions have not truly represented the community; in the Progressive convention every Negro delegate accepted did represent the community and came with the good will of his white neighbors."

If anyone will substitute in the above statement "white community" for "community" the meaning of the editors will be perfectly clear.

The colored members of the Progressive convention have sent out a circular in which they declared that: "The charge of 'lily-whitism' against the National Progressive convention is false. Arkansas elected a mixed delegation, with five colored delegates, four of whom attended the convention; Tennessee sent one, Kentucky one, Maryland two and West Virginia two. The charge of 'lily-whitism' was made for the sole and specific purpose of engendering political strife and embarrassment, and with the hope of alienating the colored vote. No heed, nor the slightest credence, should be given to the numberless unfair, distorted and malicious reports of a hostile press, sent out against the national convention of the Progressive party—a convention whose genuine enthusiasm, numerical strength, high-class delegates, brainy, experienced leaders, challenge comparison with any similar body ever assembled within the annals of our country."

The reception of this situation by the colored press has been varied. The oldest colored paper in the country, the *Christian Recorder*, says:

"Not only did the Colonel do a wrong, but emphasized it by trying to explain it, and his explanation in a nutshell is this:

"'In the South I want no Negro party, and I won't encourage a single Negro from that section.' In the North it is all right for 9,000 Negroes of Rhode Island to have a delegate, but 600,000 Negroes in Mississippi cannot have one, no, not even one. We are informed that the Negroes did not contest for all the delegates from Mississippi. They wanted only reasonable recognition; they were not trying to monopolize the party or make a Negro party. Though they represented the great bulk of Republicans and Progressives, they wanted only a paltry few delegates. But Roosevelt, the people's man, said no—they could not even have one delegate. Does anybody believe that one or two delegates out of twenty in Mississippi, and one or two from Florida and Alabama, could be interpreted as meaning that there was a new Negro party forming?"

The next oldest paper, the Georgia *Baptist*, quotes this analogy:

"Once, while we were in Augusta, the Augusta *Herald* came out in one of its issues, delivering itself in no uncertain terms on the race question. After so delivering itself, it declared that Negroes who subscribed to the *Herald* knew that these were its sentiments, and that if they could not subscribe with this knowledge they were not wanted. Now the sentiments expressed by the *Herald* were substantially those entertained by the *Chronicle*, but the colored people of Augusta had the choice between a paper which openly declared its prejudices, as well as practiced them, and one which practiced them without openly declaring them. Considered from a race standpoint only, the colored people in this country are similarly placed, as regards their choice between the Progressive and the Republican party in the present campaign."

The Norfolk (Va.) *Journal and Guide* says:

"At first the new Progressive party looked like the solution of the whole problem until Colonel Roosevelt expressed the wish that no colored men in the South should have any part in the birth of the new party. That in itself is enough to give the 'lily-white' enthusiastics more encouragement than they have received throughout the whole Taft administration, and Mr. Taft is the daddy of all the lily-whites."

The Richmond *Planet* adds:

"President Taft has been criticised, but he is 'an angel of light' to the colored man as compared to the brutal declarations of the brilliant Progressive candidate from Oyster Bay, N. Y."

The New York *Times*, after an exhaustive correspondence, finds very little support for Mr. Roosevelt among the colored people of the country, although there is some.

The Macon (Ga.) *News* (white) says that "it is a rare thing for the Negro vote to be classified as an unknown quantity in a national campaign; but the situation is such this year that the Negro voters are at sea in spite of themselves."

The Charleston *News and Courier* has its usual spasm:

"The news dispatches state that the Rhode Island Progressive executive committee gave a dinner to Colonel Roosevelt on Friday evening. It was not a man's meeting only. There were three women present; one of them, it is stated, being the daughter of ex-Governor Garvin. At the table with Colonel Roosevelt, says the report, sat, among others, Julius Mitchell, of Providence, and John Matthews, of Newport, both Negroes.

"The South has no objection to Mr. Roosevelt dining with whom he desires. He can eat with his horses if it pleases him."

CORRUPTION. Commenting on recent revelations of corruption in Southern politics, the *Southwestern Christian Advocate* remarks that:

"One needs only, however, to read the more recent accounts of white primaries to note that, although the Negro has been barred from politics in the South, corruption and buying of votes still prevail. What shall we say of the white man during a recent campaign in the State of Mississippi where the highest and best were accused, not only of corrupt political methods, but of buying and selling votes, and when lying became an every-day charge? What shall we say of the recent campaign in the State of South Carolina where all manner of political corruption has been alleged? What shall we say of the status in the city of New Orleans where, at the time of this writing, the full force of the city police is standing ready to quell any riot at the ballot box, for it is alleged that there may be irregularities and other corruption of the ballot? The whole story is amusing. It has two effects upon the Negro: The Negro, in the first place.

laughs at this pharasaical boast of the white man of his absolute freedom from corruption. On the other hand, the Negro has a feeling of resentment because of the hypocrisy and downright conceit by which he has been politically throttled. It was not in the interest of a pure ballot, *per se*, that the Negro was disfranchised; it was simply a part of the continuous and persistent program to keep the Negro under. The Negro is not altogether a fool. He can see these inconsistencies and can puncture the loud boasts and pharasaical claims of his more favored brothers and then deep down in his heart the Negro says: 'What inconsistency!' But statesmanship and government based upon such deceit and unholy injustice cannot be permanent. The Negro knows this. The wheels of the gods grind slowly, but they grind, nevertheless, and the Negro can afford, with prayer and patience, to abide his time."

THE BAR ASSOCIATION.

Seldom if ever in this country has color discrimination called forth such emphatic and well-nigh universal disapproval as the recent action of the American Bar Association; the reason being that a clear-cut issue of color unclouded by extraneous matter was forced.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* said on the eve of the convention:

"Just as the Progressive party began its exemplification of equal rights for all by excluding Negro citizens of the South from any part in its councils, so the Bar Association, after it has elected three Negroes, lives up to its name by barring them out. If the association in its meeting next week does not repudiate the wholly indefensible and un-American procedure of its executive committee, let the American Bar Association forfeit its name as well as its title to the respect and confidence of all right-thinking Americans."

The New York *Evening World* remarks that:

"Lawyers are queer animals. One would suppose that a class of professional men who depend for support and reputation largely upon the respect and confidence of the community would wish to be popular. Apparently they don't care whether they are popular or not. And the fact is that they are not.

"The efforts of the American Bar Association to throw out three Negro lawyers from its membership have met with no sympathy from the public. On the other hand, Attorney-General Wickersham's insistence that the standing of the colored lawyers should be recognized has received general approval.

"If the lawyers were as careful about some of their other associations as they are about consorting with dark-skinned members of their own profession, there might be less of the widespread feeling of cynical mistrust that undoubtedly exists toward them. A little of this commendable fastidiousness practiced in professional matters where a color line marks the boundary of shadiness would become them far better than the present intemperate exhibition of race prejudice."

The Utica *Herald-Despatch* declares:

"It does not seem probable that the American Bar Association will ever be able to live down the disgrace of its miserable mishandling of the issue and erase the blot upon its escutcheon."

The Rochester *Democrat* says:

"The association didn't take time to explain its position or answer any questions when it passed the shameful resolution. The only conclusion possible is that for once a majority of the members were so conscious of having no case that they wouldn't even make a pretense of presenting it."

The New York *Evening Mail* is sarcastic:

"If the Bar Association would expel a couple of hundred of its members with dusky records, instead of three honest lawyers with dusky faces, the public would applaud its action."

From the West the Chicago *Tribune* notes that:

"There are 10,000,000 Negroes in the American republic, one-ninth of our whole population, and they cannot and will not be kept indefinitely in a condition of isolation. Those who prove themselves fit for the learned professions or fit to serve society's needs in any capacity should be given encouragement and recognition in that work. The American Bar Association has set a bad precedent."

Says the Troy *Record:*

"Through the adoption of the resolution there is a likelihood that few blacks will be

admitted to the association in the future. Race prejudice is less in evidence in this country than ever before. But the narrowness which discriminates against estimable people because of their color still exists. It is to be hoped that the time will come when every citizen of this broad land will be treated according to his merits, not according to a color which is only skin deep."

Even the Southern papers are not satisfied. The Macon *Telegraph* says:

"This virtually shuts the doors against Negro lawyers while disingenuously dodging the color question. A straight-out resolution for or against admission would have been more just as well as more honest."

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* speaks this strong, true word:

"The three Negroes who are already members of the American Bar Association are men who have won recognition in their chosen work. There is not the slightest evidence that they are not creditable to the bar in every way. The adoption of a resolution isolating them as undesirable is an indefensible insult to unoffending humanity, but it is even more objectionable as service of notice that in so far as may be the door of hope in the legal profession is to be closed to Negroes, in violation of the spirit of the republic, the Constitution and the times. Surely lawyers should be the last to do that which is essentially lawless, and a body of lawyers made up of men from every State ought to be ashamed to tell the world that in America the Negro is still denied a square deal."

THE BUSINESS LEAGUE.

The meeting of the Negro Business League in Chicago has brought two important comments upon its objects. All papers praise its work and general attitude, but the Chicago *Evening Post* says of Mr. Washington's advice:

"While it is a very useful thing to have Mr. Washington preaching free will and full responsibility to the colored people, it would be a very great mistake for the white community to regard this as the last word on the subject. For it is not true in any sense whatever that the colored community is wholly and entirely responsible for the vice and crime which appear now and then in its midst.

"For one thing a good deal of the vice in the 'colored belt' is white man's vice, thrust there by the authorities against the protest of the colored people. But the thing runs deeper than that. Vice and crime are in large measure the result of idleness, of irregular employment, and even of regular employment that is underpaid and exhaustive. It would be fatuous for the white community to deny its responsibility, in very large measure, for the economic conditions under which thousands of Negro men and women struggle right here in Chicago. Trade unions close their doors to colored men; the vast majority of employments are closed absolutely to them; even the American Bar Association threatens to draw a social and semi-professional line against them.

"But these are disagreeable truths and we all shirk them when we can. If Dr. Washington rather encourages us to shirk them by putting the emphasis where he does, there is another great leader of the colored people who does not. Professor W. E. B. Du Bois in his books and his journal, THE CRISIS, holds up courageously, month in and month out, the other side—our side—of the picture. Forcefully and yet with a quiet reserve which is granted to few polemicists, Dr. Du Bois thrusts home upon the conscience of the American people the consciousness that the colored problem cannot be solved by the colored man alone."

The Chicago *Public* also declares that the advocates of protest and higher training among colored people "see that the Negro cannot gain anything more than a material and partial victory by becoming more and more self-sufficing. Two camps of self-sufficing and self-regarding peoples will never constitute a democracy. Every white advance in the conception of social justice must be shared with the Negro. The Negro who is graduated from a college must not be allowed to take Dr. Washington's advice to go South and start a brickyard, if he has academic abilities that can be employed in other and more ideally fruitful ways. The white unions, for instance, must cease their suicidal and immoral policy of discouraging or excluding Negro members. The Negroes must not meet such exclusion with a self-sufficient 'Well, I shall achieve in some other way.' They must insist on achieving in that particular—by insisting on admission to every union that claims to be labor.

"To achieve the proper solution of this

problem, in short, simply means that whites as well as Negroes shall be guided by ideals as well as by opportunism, shall have the courage of their lip service to spiritual realities, shall either admit that they do not believe in democracy at all but only in the struggle for existence, or else pursue their achievement of democracy in the only way possible, by the frank recognition of and action upon the spiritual implications of democracy and self-consciousness."

THE JUBILEE.

Three papers—North, East and South—unite in a demand upon Congress that the bill for the Negro semi-centennial for emancipation be passed.

The Los Angeles (Cal.) *Journal* says:

"Only one valid objection can be urged against the bill of Congressman Fitzgerald appropriating $250,000 for an exposition to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Negro emancipation in this country. The sum asked is too small for the occasion. The exposition should not be a paltry one. It should be made as near as possible complete in every line of labor and all-comprehensive in its scope; ample in extent to show both what the Negro has been able to achieve in his fifty years of freedom and what guarantees he gives of industry and of art for the years to come."

The Birmingham (Ala.) *Age-Herald* remarks that:

"Surely, in this age of appropriations for expositions, the sum of $250,000 should be voted to enable the Negroes to organize an exposition that will show what they have accomplished in fifty years of freedom."

A staff writer on the New York *Times* declares:

"The sum asked for is not large and the occasion is important. The Negroes have not asked for much at any time and they have not been treated with great liberality in matters of appropriations from the public treasury. There is much objection to the appropriation of public funds for the holding of expositions, but such appropriations have been made for many expositions that were not more meritorious really than the exposition which the Negroes would now hold to show how they have prospered in this land, and it would seem to be good policy and fair treatment to give them what they want."

MULATTOES.

The figures of the United States census showing that, at least, one-fifth of the colored population of the United States has white blood has brought varying comments. The *Christian Recorder* says:

"Now, this census is very interesting for several reasons. First, it shows conclusively that race mixture is progressing more rapidly in those States where there is a law prohibiting intermarriage, as in the South, and less rapidly where intermarriage is permitted. It is conclusive, therefore, that race mixture is not the result of race intermarriage. It is also shown that in those States where the Negro woman and her offspring are not protected by laws regulating cohabitation and bastardy there is greatest increase, as in Georgia. The whole theory of protection of the white race by permitting it to prey on the black is seen to be unsound by these figures. In the very place where the mulatto is least wanted, *i. e.*, in the South, there the evidences of race mixture seem to be growing most rapidly.

"But we are convinced that these figures do not tell the whole story. If the definition of mulatto here given is adhered to, we are honestly convinced that at least 1,000,000 more 'mulattoes' can be found."

The Manchester (Conn.) *Herald* thinks that:

"Eventually the pure colored blood in the United States will become practically extinct and mulattoes will grow white."

Dr. Pierce Kintzing, of Baltimore, acknowledges that scientific tests for Negro blood are of little if any value "beyond the third generation."

¶ At Cuba, Ala., a Negro porter, B. Harris, risked his life to save that of Mr. Robertson, an old gentleman who was crossing the track in front of a passenger train, and who, miscalculating the distance, was in imminent danger of being run over. The engineer did not see the old man until the train was on him. The Negro leaped to the middle of the track, grabbed Mr. Robertson, and threw him out of the way of the train.

Mr. Robertson was uninjured. The porter has been in the service of the company for several years and has been warmly commended by the citizens for his heroic act.

OF CHILDREN.

THIS is the Children's Number, and as it has grown and developed in the editor's hesitating hands, it has in some way come to seem a typical rather than a special number. Indeed, there is a sense in which all numbers and all words of a magazine of ideas must point to the child—to that vast immortality and wide sweep and infinite possibility which the child represents. Such thought as this it was that made men say of old as they saw baby faces like these that adorn our pages this month:

"And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones * * * it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea."

OF THE GIVING OF LIFE.

AND yet the mothers and fathers and the men and women of our race must often pause and ask:

Is it worth while?

Ought children be born to us?

Have we a right to make human souls face what we face to-day?

The answer is clear: if the great battle of human right against poverty, against disease, against color prejudice is to be won, it must be won not in our day, but in the day of our children's children. Ours is the blood and dust of battle, theirs the rewards of victory. If then they are not there because we have not brought them to the world, then we have been the guiltiest factor in conquering ourselves. It is our duty then to accomplish the immortality of black blood in order that the day may come in this dark world when poverty shall be abolished, privilege based on individual desert, and the color of a man's skin be no bar to the outlook of his soul.

OF THE SHIELDING ARM.

IF then it is our duty as honest colored men and women battling for a great principle to bring not aimless rafts of children to the world, but as many as, with reasonable sacrifice, we can train to largest manhood, what in its inner essence shall that training be, particularly in its beginning? Our first impulse is to shield our children absolutely. Look at these happy little innocent faces: for most of them there is as yet no shadow, no thought of a color line. The world is beautiful and good, and real life is joy. But we know only

too well that beyond all the disillusionment and hardening that lurk for every human soul there is that extra hurting which, even when unconscious, with fiendish refinement of cruelty waits on each corner to shadow the joy of our children; if they are backward or timid, there is the sneer; if they are forward, there is repression; the problems of playmates and amusements are infinite, and street and school and church have all that extra hazard of pain and temptation that spells hell to our babies.

The first temptation then is to shield the child; to hedge it about that it may not know and will not dream. Then, when we can no longer wholly shield, to indulge and pamper and coddle, as though in this dumb way to compensate. From this attitude comes the multitude of our spoiled, wayward, disappointed children; and must we not blame ourselves? For while the motive was pure and the outer menace undoubted, is shielding and indulgence the way to meet it?

OF THE GRIM THRUST.

SOME parents realizing this, leave their children to sink or swim in this sea of race prejudice. They neither shield nor explain, but thrust them forth grimly into school or street, and let them learn as they may from brutal fact. Out of this may come strength poise, self-dependence, and out of it, too, may come bewilderment, cringing deception and self-distrust. It is, all said, a brutal, unfair method, and in its way as bad as shielding and indulgence. Why not rather face the facts and tell the truth? Your child is wiser than you think.

THE FRANK TRUTH.

THE truth lies ever between extremes. It is wrong to introduce the child to race consciousness prematurely. It is dangerous to let that consciousness grow spontaneously without intelligent guidance. With every step of dawning intelligence explanation—frank, free guiding explanation—must come. The day will dawn when mother must explain gently but clearly why the little girls next door do not want to play with "Niggers;" what the real cause is of the teachers' unsympathetic attitude, and how people may ride on the backs of street cars and the smoker end of trains, and still be people, honest high-minded souls.

Remember, too, that in such frank explanation you are speaking in nine cases out of ten to a good deal clearer understanding than you think, and that the child mind has what your tired soul may have lost faith in—the power and the glory.

THE POWER AND THE GLORY.

OUT of little unspoiled souls rise up wonderful resources and healing balm. Once the colored child understands the world's attitude and the shameful wrong of it, you have furnished it with a great life motive—a power and impulse toward good, which is the mightiest thing man has. How many white folks would give their own souls if they might graft into their children's souls a great, moving, guiding ideal!

With this power there comes in the transfiguring soul of childhood the glory: the vision of accomplishment—the lofty ideal. Once let the strength of the motive work, and it becomes the life task of the parent to guide and shape the ideal; to raise it from resentment and revenge, to dignity and self-respect, to breadth and accomplishment, to human service; to beat back every thought of cringing and surrender.

Here, at last, we can speak with no hesitating, with no lack of faith, For we know that as the world grows better there will be realized in our children's lives that for which we fight unfalteringly but vainly now.

THE SHIFTY AMERICAN BAR.

IN popular imagination the drawing of the color line is a solemn performance done after grave deliberation by perfectly unselfish men, for lofty purpose and for vast contemplative ends.

In the face of such conception what shall be said at the trickery, lying and chicanery that has marked the drawing of racial lines in the American Bar Association? Why should there be such hiding and deception? Is somebody ashamed of something? Is it a discreditable and disreputable thing to say to a man: "If you are black you cannot join the American Bar Association?" If it is not a nasty and unworthy discrimination to say this, why not say it flatly and first, instead of:

1. Hushing the matter up.

2. Asking the colored man "quietly" to resign.
3. Seeking to break law and precedent in declaring a member not a member, but a "candidate" for membership.
4. Endless and disingenuous explanations, avowing the broadest charity and highest motives.
5. The sending out of new membership blanks calling for information as to the "race and sex" of candidates before the association had authorized such action.
6. The admission that such blanks were sent without authority, but that the matter would be duly reported when it never was reported.
7. A secret bargain which one of the most prominent lawyers in the United States thus describes: "The resolution was presented by ex-President and ex-Secretary of War Dickinson, seconded by an Illinois man, favored by Wickersham, and then the previous question was instantly moved—all evidently in pursuance of a prearranged plan. I need say no more than that after about fifteen minutes of absolute riot the chairman (Fraser of Indiana, put into the chair by Gregory, as I think, because even Gregory was not willing to do what was about to be done) declared the resolution adopted and declared the meeting adjourned. What was actually said or done in the interval it is impossible to tell. A dozen or twenty men were on their feet constantly yelling for recognition by the chair, and the exclusionist gang was yelling 'question!' 'question!' all over the hall, and it was simply a mob. So far as I could judge, when the question was finally put on the resolution, after I had got recognized for a point of order which the chair conceded but gave us no benefit of, there were about 50 'noes' in a meeting of about 500."

In the name of civilization, what were 450 men so ashamed of that they could not step into the light of day and do frankly and openly that which took three official lies, two infractions of the

common law, a corrupt bargain and a "mob" to allow the associated bar of the nation to accomplish?

Does anyone suspect that here, as elsewhere, in this land of the free, a number of eminent gentlemen wished opportunity to do a dirty trick in the dark so as to stand in the light and yell: "We give the black man every chance and yet look at him!"

VITAL STATISTICS.

EVERY once in a while some social student turns his attention to the Negro problem and announces that he proposes to study it—for a few days. In such cases THE CRISIS is accustomed to suggest literature and other matter with the idea, not of influencing the student's conclusions, but of impressing the size of the undertaking to which he so lightly turns. In some cases this does good. In the case of Mr. Charles Stelzle it did no good. Mr. Stelzle, who is "Executive Secretary of the Home Missions Council," announced his intention last year of looking black men over. This year, in the midst of a busy life, he has thrown off an essay which has been published from New York to California, in which he calmly announces "that the death rate among Negroes is increasing, whereas it is decreasing among whites." This extraordinary statement has been strewn over the United States and it is a flat and glaring falsehood.

In the Census of 1890, Vital and Social Statistics (Part I, page 30), and in the Census of 1900, Vol. III (Vital Statistics, part I, page 69), there are the following figures for colored people:

	1890	1900
Death rates in registration area	32.40	30.2
Death rates in registration cities	33.68	31.1
Death rates in registration States	29.50	26.2

Here is the clearest sort of proof that the Negro death rate is declining steadily.

If Mr. Stelzle had had time to go a bit further he would have found the following figures in the Census Mortality Statistics of 1908 (page 26).

Death rates of Negroes in selected registration cities:

1901-5	28.4
1908	26.2

In other words, because a busy man was too careless to find out what he was talking about, a miserable falsehood is spread from ocean to ocean.

MR. HARE
A STORY FOR CHILDREN

(Adapted from the folk tales of the Banyoro Negroes in Uganda, Central Africa, as reported by George Wilson in Sir Harry Johnston's "Uganda Protectorate.")

MR. HARE and Mr. Tortoise were, of course, great friends. Well, one nice warm day, when the sun was very hot in the thick African forest, they went out together a-hunting food, for they were very hungry. They walked and talked and talked and walked, when suddenly Mr. Tortoise stopped.

"Hello!" said Mr. Tortoise, pointing ahead.

"Well, I never!" answered Mr. Hare, beginning to scamper, for there right before them arose in the air, in one tall, slim column, a nice tall white-ant hill.

Now everybody in Africa knows what sweet morsels fat white ants are, and you can believe that Mr. Hare and Mr. Tortoise were overjoyed at the sight of the hill and lost little time getting to it. Carefully they dug a nice little hole at the bottom of the hill and then sat down patiently to await the coming out of the ants.

As Mr. Hare waited he got so hungry that he began to reckon that after all there would be just about enough ants on that hill for Mr. Hare himself, and it seemed a shame to give up any of this fine food to a great sleepy tortoise.

So greedy Mr. Hare began to look about with one eye, keeping the other on the ant hill. Pretty soon Mr. Tortoise fell sound asleep just as Mr. Hare, pricking up his ears, heard some of his friends going through the forest. He ran quickly to them and asked them to carry the sleepy tortoise into the tall grass, where Mr. Hare knew it would be hard for him to crawl out.

"But be careful not to hurt him," said Mr. Hare.

When the tortoise was out of the way, Mr. Hare sat down and ate and ate until he could hardly waddle, and then crept off home. Poor Mr. Tortoise, awaking in the tall thick grass, had a long hard journey to get out. When at last, late and exhausted, he arrived at the ant hill, lo! there was nothing left and Mr. Hare was gone.

"So ho! my fine friend," said Mr. Tortoise angrily, "I'll be even with you yet," and he crawled off home.

Mr. Hare met him and made a great fuss.

"My dear old fellow!" he cried, "how glad I am to see you safe! I feared you were dead. I myself escaped by the merest chance.

Three spears grazed me!" and Mr. Hare pointed to a very small scratch on his soft side.

"Humph," said Mr. Tortoise, busily making his bed.

"We must not go to that ant hill again," said Mr. Hare, licking his chops.

"Humph," said Mr. Tortoise as he went to sleep.

Now Mr. Tortoise knew full well that early in the morning Mr. Hare would make a beeline to the ant hill for breakfast. Sure enough, up jumped Mr. Hare at dawn and slipped away. No sooner was he out of sight, however, than up jumped Mr. Tortoise and also crept quickly away to his friends.

"Wait for him," he told them, "and when he has his head deep in the hole pounce on him."

But Mr. Tortoise was kind hearted, and he remembered that Mr. Hare had been careful not to let his friends injure him when they carried him to the jungle. So he added:

"But don't kill him."

"Oh, but we like rabbit—we want to eat him!" cried the friends.

"Very well," said Mr. Tortoise, "but if you kill him quickly he will be tough. You must take him home and make a big pot ready, half filled with fine oil and salt and nice herbs. Put Mr. Hare in it, but leave a hole in the cover so that you may add cold water from time to time. For if you let the oil get hot it will spoil the meat. So be very careful and not let it boil."

The friends of the tortoise did exactly as they were told. Just as Mr. Hare was finishing the nicest breakfast imaginable, and stopping between mouthfuls to chuckle over the outwitting of the tortoise, he was suddenly seized from behind, and despite his frantic struggles hurried through the forest and dropped, splash! into a big pot of oil and herbs. Salt was added and the pot raised on sticks. Soon the crackling of a fire struck the scared ears of Mr. Hare, while Mr. Tortoise's friends sat around in a circle and discussed the coming meal.

"I certainly do like rabbit," said one.

"Do you think it as good as elephant steak?" asked another.

"Oh, better—much better," said a third.

Here Mr. Hare, faint with fear and heat, was just about to give up, when, splash! and through a hole in the cover of the pot came a nice dash of cold water. Mr. Hare revived and looked about cautiously. This program was kept up for some hours, making poor Mr. Hare very nervous, indeed, until at

last the patient cooks decided that their meal was ready; and indeed, the oil and herbs were giving off a most tempting smell.

All the feasters washed their hands, laid out the dishes, and, seating themselves in a circle, ran their tongues expectantly over their lips. The pot was placed in the middle and the cover removed, when, presto! out popped the very scared and bedraggled Mr. Hare and leaped into the jungle like a flash leaving a thin trail of oil.

"Dear me!" said Mr. Tortoise, as Mr. Hare rushed gasping into the house, "wherever have you been?"

"Whew!" cried Mr. Hare, "but I surely had a narrow escape. I was nearly murdered. I've been caught and cooked, and only by a miracle did I escape," and he began hastily licking his oily sides.

Mr. Tortoise with difficulty kept back his laughter and watched Mr. Hare lick himself. Mr. Hare kept on licking and Mr. Tortoise crept nearer. Mr. Hare took no notice and Mr. Tortoise perceived that bit by bit the fright on Mr. Hare's oily face was being replaced by the most emphatic signs of pleasure as Mr. Hare continued to lick himself greedily. Mr. Tortoise was interested, and stepping over quickly he began to lick the other side.

"My! how delicious," he exclaimed in rapture, tasting the fine oil and salt and the flavor of the herbs.

"Get away!" cried the greedy Mr. Hare. "You have not been in the pot and boiled. Keep off!"

Mr. Tortoise, feeling that he had had a hand in that oil and salt, began to get angry.

"Let me have your left shoulder to lick," he demanded.

"I will not," said Mr. Hare, who was now thoroughly enjoying himself.

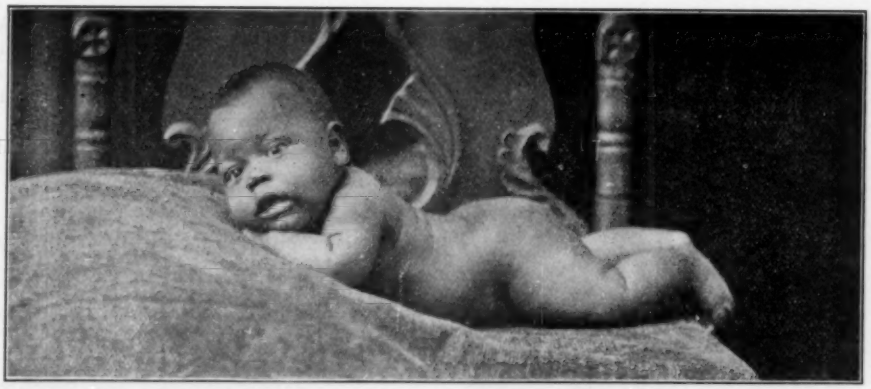
Mr. Tortoise stormed out of the house in a great fury and almost ran into the arms of his friends. They, too, were in a towering rage.

"What did you mean?" they cried. "Through your advice we've lost our hare and all our beautiful oil and salt."

"Dear me!" exclaimed Mr. Tortoise, losing in his indignation all thoughts of friendship. "This is very, very sad. Now I will tell you what to do. Arrange a dance and invite Mr. Hare. When he is dancing to your tom-toms seize him and kill him."

And this should have been the end of Mr. Hare.

But it wasn't.



SOME BOOKS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

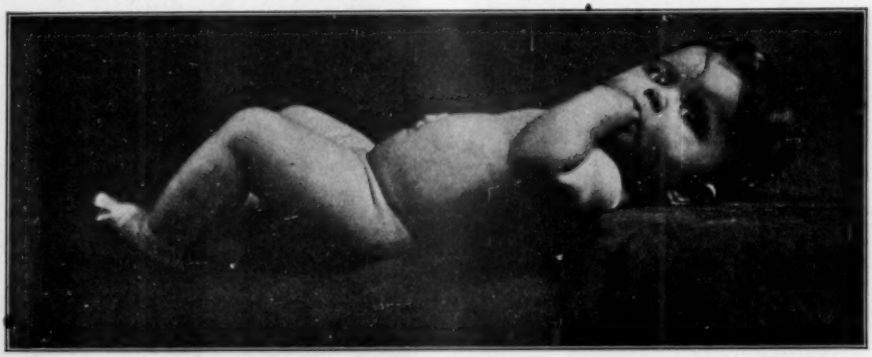
By JESSIE FAUSET

"CIVILIZED man," sang Mr. Owen Meredith, "cannot live without cooks." That is open to argument. Certainly no one can dispute the statement that "civilized man cannot live without books." For what should we do without intellectual stimulus? And where does one get that save in books? That is why we begin with fairy tales. The *Brothers Grimm, Hans Andersen, Arabian Nights*—these are the first aids to the intellect.

Even more important, they are first aids, too, to the exercise of the imagination. Who could read of *Cinderella*, of *Jack, the Giant Killer*, of those high-sounding Eastern names, *Aladdin, Sinbad, Scheherazade* without being immediately translated to the realm of make-believe?

Nothing is very strange to children because their experience is so slight; and yet even their serenity must receive a slight shock when *Mother Goose* presents the cow jumping over the moon. That is a matter requiring investigation. It would be well to learn more of this strange book. And Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass* are bound to stimulate the most indifferent White Rabbits, and laconic Humpty Dumpties are not to be met with every day. What a blessing that the man who knew the little girl who knew them put his knowledge down in a book! How incomplete would life be without it! Most any child is bound to like, too, Stevenson's *Child's Garden of Verses* and Eugene Field's *Nonsense Rhymes*. The first one attracts by its likeness to the facts of life, the second because one is not sure whether the statements made are true or not.

"The cow that's speckled red and white I



love with all my heart," croons the country child. Of course he does. Doesn't he see her every day? And the little girl, looking out on the drear city streets in the gray mist of a November afternoon, suddenly realizes that

"The organ with the organ man
Is singing in the rain."

On the other hand, why shouldn't

"The owl and the pussycat go to sea
In a beautiful pea-green boat?"

Later on when the struggle with the queer Latin and Greek names becomes less pronounced Hawthorne's *Wonderbook and the Tanglewood Tales*, especially if the illustrations are Parrish's, are much to be enjoyed. And speaking of illustrations, neither child nor grown-up should miss *Boutel de Monvel's* pictures in the child's story of Jean d'Arc.

Meanwhile the tendency to revel in the fields of *pure* imagination grows less and less. Life as it is actually lived makes its appeal. Here come Margaret Sydney's *"Pepper Books,"* a charming array, and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *"Secret Garden,"* a book with wonderful pictures. Then there are Vredenburg's *Dickens' Children Stories* and *Pendleton's "Tim and Roy."* And *"Swiss Family Robinson"*—which might so easily have been real—and if only you and I had belonged to the "Family!"

By now the girls are reading "Stories for Girls." Miss Alcott's books—a series beginning with *"Little Women"*—have no equal. Boarding-school books charm. Ellen Douglas Deland presents the *"Girls of Dudley School,"* Katharine Ellis has her *"Wide-awake Girls,"* and Warde's *"Betty Wales"* stories seem very real indeed. And we must not forget to mention *Rosa Nonchette Carey.*

The boys are reading, too, but they are shooting bears and stalking Indians with the bold pioneer. Tomlinson's *"Flintlock and Fife,"* Drysdale's *"Brain and Brawn" Series,* Ellis's *Indian Series* and a set of school books by *John Prescott Earle* and *Edward Robin* fulfil their idea of mental pabulum.

Suddenly just as childhood is turning the corner comes the need for romance. Some children—most of them—read prose, *Charles Major, Stanley Weyman, Anthony Hope;*

oh, the charm of the *"Prisoner of Zenda!"* But a small proportion turns to verse. *Longfellow* is frankly loved; there is a little halt at the more translatable portions of *Browning*, and *Keats* and *Shelley* are more or less appreciated in the exact proportion in which one has appreciated one's high-school classics. Elizabeth Barrett Browning is adored by girls, especially in *"Aurora Leigh."* But most enchanting of all are the *Rubaiyat* for those lucky enough to find Fitzgerald's translation, and Tennyson.

Tennyson, dear master painter of chivalry and goodness and purity and love! What a world is shown in the *"Idyls of the King"* and the *"Princess."* "He cometh not," says *"Marianna in the Moated Grange"*—how the refrain haunts one! The beautiful *"Lady of Shalott"* fills her readers with that sadness which is more delicious than joy. And *"Maud"*—for the girls. Later on girls learn that life is a little sad, that mere womanhood is not always appreciated; but in "Maud"—

"Queen rose of the rosebud garden of girls"

sings Maud's lover. Even if one isn't a queen rose, one may belong to the rosebud garden by the mere virtue of being a girl.

And again—

"She is coming, my own, my sweet;
* * * * *
My dust would hear her and beat,
Had I lain for a century dead,
Would start and tremble under her feet,
And blossom in purple and red."

How the beautiful words thrill!

"Of making many books there is no end." Much remains to be said of the books which the more mature boy and girl would enjoy. Lack of space confines us to ten chosen at random. Anne Douglass Sedgwick's *"Tante,"* Margaret Deland's *"Iron Woman,"* Barrie's *"Sentimental Tommy,"* any of *Dickens'* *Novels,* King's *"Inner Shrine,"* Perceval Gibbon's *"Flower o' the Peach,"* Kenneth Grahame's *"Olympians,"* *"Frau,"* by John Ellis, and Alice Brown's *"Thyrza."*

The only fitting comment to make on these books is to say that after one has read them he will wish he had not—in order to have the pleasure of reading them all over.

HISTORIC DAYS IN OCTOBER

1. Convention of colored men at Raleigh, N. C., 1866.

2. Alexander T. Augusta, the first colored man commissioned in the medical department of the United States army, appointed surgeon of the Seventeenth Regiment, United States Colored Volunteers, 1863.

6. Slavery completely abolished in Cuba, 1886.

7. William Still, Negro anti-slavery worker and author, born, 1821.

8. Many natives in South Africa enfranchised, 1887.

9. Black soldiers from Hayti aided the American troops in the attack on Savannah, Ga., 1779.

10. Robert Gould Shaw, colonel of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, born, 1837.

12. St. Thomas Church, Philadelphia, first Episcopalian congregation consisting of Negroes, organized, 1794.

13. Free-school system inaugurated in Georgia, 1870.

16. John Brown attacked Harper's Ferry, 1859.

17. Ogé and Chavannes, colored men of Santo Domingo, demanded of the French national convention political rights for their people, 1790.

18. Free colored people of Santo Domingo petitioned the people of France for equal rights, 1789.

19. William W. Patton, former president of Howard University, born, 1821.

21. William Lloyd Garrison mobbed in Boston, 1835.

Vermont ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, 1869.

24. New York authorized the enlistment of colored troops for service in the second war with England, 1814.

25. William Goodell, author of "The American Slave Code," born, 1792.

28. Levi Coffin, organizer of the "Underground Railroad," born, 1798.

L. M. Hershaw.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE

BRANCHES.

THE Indianapolis branch, with a membership of over fifty, has been admitted. The president is Mrs. Mary E. Cable.

On July 18 Miss Ovington addressed the Northeastern Federation of Women's Clubs, convening at Jersey City, on the work of the National Association.

BALTIMORE.

COUNSEL for the association reports that the hearing on the Baltimore segregation ordinance which was set for August 26 has been again postponed. The new date set is September 14. Mr. Marchant, the deputy State attorney, requested this postponement, alleging as one of his reasons his inability to argue so important a matter without time for full preparation.

VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN.

THE board of directors desire to express their deep appreciation to the members of the association for their gratifying response to the circular letter requesting aid in the Virginia Christian case. Letters and contributions poured in from all parts of the country. The balance on hand after meeting the expenses of the case is $117. This, with the consent of the donors, will be applied to the legal redress fund and kept for future emergencies of similar character. A circular letter of appreciation giving a statement of the proposed disposition of the balance of the fund and accompanied by a sample copy of THE CRISIS, which contains an account of the case, has been sent to everyone contributing.

Mr. Thomas Ewing, Jr., of the well-known legal firm of Ewing & Ewing, one of the board of directors, at his own expense engaged the services of Mr. Dodson, an attorney of Norfolk, Va., in the case. Mr. Dodson, after carefully reviewing the legal history of the case and interviewing many of the same people who had been seen already by the association's representative, came to the conclusion that the crime was not premeditated. He spent over an hour trying to persuade the governor to commute the girl's sentence.

THE BAR ASSOCIATION.

AS noted in another part of this issue the American Bar Association has succeeded for the present in drawing the color line. One of the three gentlemen under discussion, Mr. William R. Morris of Minneapolis, resigned immediately upon learning the action of the Bar Association. The work of our organization in connection with this matter has already been reviewed in previous numbers of THE CRISIS. The board of directors feel that especial mention should be made of the splendid campaign carried on by the Boston branch. Under date of August 8 a circular letter was sent to all the Massachusetts members of the American Bar Association, explaining the situation and requesting their immediate reply to inquiries contained on an enclosed postcard. Of the 420 cards sent out 224 were returned. An analysis of the latter showed 220 of the Massachusetts members who did not approve of the attempt to exclude Mr. William H. Lewis from membership, 218 who did not approve of the attempt to introduce race or color as a qualification of membership, and twelve who expected to attend the meeting at Milwaukee. All but four were opposed to drawing the race or color line and all but six were opposed to the exclusion of colored members. It was a great blow to the association that Mr. Moorfield Storey was too ill to attend the meeting. Hon. Albert E. Pillsbury and Judge Harvey H. Baker went to Milwaukee expressly to fight the introduction of the color line.

A PLEA FOR THE SURVIVAL OF THE PROTECTORATES OF SOUTH AFRICA

By FRANCES HOGGAN, M. D., of London, England

THE Protectorates of South Africa are a substantial monument to Great Britain's civilizing power. No doubt much still remains to be done, and some things had better have been left undone. Early dealings with the Basuto, for instance, as well as with other natives with whom we had treaties, one cannot contemplate with equanimity, or always feel proud of English diplomatic methods of dealing with oversea dependencies. Still, taken in the mass, English influence and government have conduced greatly to the well being of South African natives, and nowhere is this more conclusively evident than in the Protectorates. One turns with genuine pleasure from the Transvaal, Orange River Colony and Rhodesia (white men's country) to the immense stretches of Bechuanaland and the beautiful mountains and fertile valleys of Basutoland, where one has the welcome feeling that here at least the black man has a home, and that the country, for all purposes of living in and cultivating, belongs to him. British rule extends over these two and the Swaziland Protectorate. Government officials are very much to the fore in the residency towns, the trying of all murder cases and the more important civil cases being in the hands of the English commissioners, assistant commissioners and magistrates, having been relinquished by Khama voluntarily, and by some of the other native chiefs under pressure. Chiefs, however, still retain a good deal of power, and all the internal matters of the tribe are in their hands to be administered according to tribal custom and usage. The chief has government pay like any other official when employed to collect the hut tax; he is in constant communication with the representatives of the English government in the Protectorate, and receives from them much useful help and counsel, and occasionally something very like an order, but couched in friendly and courteous terms. Where, as is frequently the case, the administrator is in close touch and sympathy with the chiefs, the system works admirably, and it would be difficult to devise a better mode of bringing the advantages of Western civilization to the natives of Africa. Paternal government is the government best understood by natives, and the sovereignty of a white paramount chief is readily submitted to and loyally accepted. The pathetic remonstrances contained in the petitions addressed to the government by the native chiefs in both Bechuanaland and Basutoland when South African Union was under consideration, their saddened references to their obedience and loyalty to their white father, and desire to continue under his rule, testify to their disinclination for passing under any other jurisdiction. The time must come, in the natural order of events, when the Protectorates will be handed over to the control of the "elder brother," as the Union of South Africa was designated in a public reply to the petition of chiefs anxious to have the existing Protectorate relations maintained. The prospect presented to them filled them with dismay, and the Basuto are equally averse to any new régime.

The distinction one is at once aware of in the Protectorates is that the white man is there for the benefit and protection of the blacks, to promote their welfare, to stimulate them to progress, and generally to further their interests; whereas, outside the Protectorates, the feeling is at once forced on one that the white man is the owner and master of the country, and that the blacks are only there on sufferance, to work for him, and to build up the industries of the land primarily for his advantage and interest.

In the great Bechuanaland Protectorate tribal life is the rule and the power of the chief is a very real thing. The chiefs are commonly men of strong character, accustomed to govern, and assisted by headmen of recognized position in the tribe. These headmen are sometimes, as when the chief is young and the headman of mature age and experience, of a high type of mind and wise in counsel, and the chief's authority is always exercised within certain well-known limits and is not a pure despotism.

Khama, the grand old chief so well known in connection with his opposition to the liquor traffic, who has this year celebrated in the presence of a representative of the English government the jubilee of his baptism, deferred on account of the death of Edward VII., is a fine example of a strong, wise and humane native ruler. There are many other chiefs, heathen, Christian or wavering, who possess commanding qualities, and enjoy the respect and affection of their subjects and the consideration of white officials.

The internal rule of these chiefs is effective and only in well-prescribed circumstances are they under the guidance and control of English government officials, the more enlightened of whom are welcomed and consulted by the chiefs as friends whose wisdom and wider experience are highly appreciated. To be present at some of these consultations is a privilege but seldom enjoyed by travelers. It gives an insight of great value into the mental life and alibre of the Bantu, and enables one in some degree to understand their nature and the tribal outlook on life, that of the communist as opposed to that of the individualist.*

The tribal system is such a consistent whole, and it has so molded the whole nature of the Bantu; it is so much part and parcel of their psychical life, that any rapid change is to be deprecated even toward ethically higher standards. In the transition period the older sanctions of life and conduct fall to the ground, leaving a moral blank. It is those natives who are in the chaotic whirl of change from the old to the new who constitute the dangerous class of whom so much of late years has been heard. In the Protectorates this class is not a large one and is easily controlled. Where it tends to become a grave peril to the community is especially in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, in the neighborhood of the mines, and where natives are exasperated by galling restrictions and disabilities.

As is always the case, it is the verge of civilization, where contact with whites of low morality debases the natives that the most unsatisfactory race relations are found. In all parts of South Africa where the underlying idea of the governing classes is the good of white men and only incidentally, as a necessary asset of the country and its development, the good of the natives, friction of an acute kind must occur. Where, on the other hand, the white ruler aims at development, and the conditions of a happy, prosperous and progressively civilized life for the natives are realized, good feeling prevails, and the advantages of white supremacy are not disputed. So satisfactory are the general relations between governing and governed in the Protectorates that it would be a disaster for them to be incorporated with South Africa before time has been allowed for the growth of a more liberal policy toward natives generally, and until guarantees can be devised for the special recognition of the existing rights and privileges of the Protectorate natives. Their faith in their white "Father" and his administrators is so touching and complete that we are bound by all motives of loyalty to duty and good faith toward the dependent tribes not to betray their trust.

A Japanese gentleman I once met told me that the English resembled the Japanese in their possession of the quality of faithfulness. Japanese devotion to duty has been splendidly proved on the field of battle. May ours be equally well proved on the battlefield of race (a far more difficult field in which to gain laurels) in South Africa, to our lasting glory and the well being of all the Protectorates under our fostering care!

*See Dudley Kidd's "Kaffir Socialism."

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

WITH the colored population of the Province of Oriente reduced by 3,000, including the leaders Estenoz and Ivonnet, the prisons of Santiago filled to their capacity, and the names of conspirators stricken from the roll of the Veterans of Cuban Independence, the ill-advised uprising of the Independent Colored Party has been completely crushed by the Cuban government and the net result of the movement has been to broaden the attenuated line between the races.

The object of the revolutionists was to intimidate the government into repealing the

Morua law against the formation of political parties on racial lines. This law, which owes its name to the late Morua Delgado, Secretary of War and President of the Senate, was in reality designed to protect the interests of his people. The Negro population, which now numbers little more than one-fourth the total population of Cuba, is constantly decreasing proportionately with the increase of European immigration. Obviously a political party always in the minority could never hope to exercise great influence upon the government, and the existence of a separate colored party would only tend to the formation of exclusively white parties which would deprive the Negroes of all the privileges which they now enjoy.

Of the eighty members of the Cuban House of Representatives, some twelve are professedly of Negro blood, and the senate now includes one colored member. These men have been elected purely on their own merits by mixed constituencies. To them and to other men of color are open any offices to which their ability and their influence entitle them. No member of the House of Representatives is more highly regarded by his colleagues than is Campos Marquetti or Juan Gualberto Gomez, now the Liberal candidate for the presidency of the assembly of Havana Province. In Cuba, as perhaps in no other country, the Emancipation Proclamation has brought real freedom and opportunity to the erstwhile slave.

If Estenoz had any motive other than that of personal discontent and unsatisfied ambition, it was the supposition that the repeal of the Morua law, by American intervention, if necessary, would advance the status of the Negro more rapidly than he has progressed in the thirty years of complete emancipation. Estenoz could not have familiarized himself with the condition of the Negro in the South when he visited the United States. If he were now living he would not only be disillusioned by the action of the Progressive party, but he would have the additional assurance of Mr. Roosevelt in a recent speech on "The March of Our Flag," that "if we were in control in Cuba the Negroes would be kept within bounds, socially and politically"—to which a writer in *Pearson's Magazine* adds: "On intervening again we must remain there (in Cuba) until we have accomplished a task as thorough as that of England in Egypt."

Fortunately for Cuba, the majority of the colored people, and a large number, even of the Independents, were entirely opposed to the extreme action of Estenoz. In suppressing the rebellion the Liberal government had the warm support of their Conservative opponents and of the representative colored men. The speedy and severe campaign has brought untold suffering upon the people of Oriente, but it is to be hoped that the passage of a general pardon act will restore to the families that have not been bereft of their breadwinners the hundreds of prisoners who became the victims of a misguided reformer.

JAMES B. CLARKE.

THE BURDEN

"DID YOU SEND MY LETTER OPEN?"

OUR readers will remember the horrible lynching picture published in our January, 1912, number. We tried to get details of this affair, but the utmost we have been able to extract is the following letter from a colored minister:

"Andalusia, Ala.

"Dear Sir

yours Received you ask me Of the Man that was lynch yas Pettegru A negro was lench without Being loud 5 minits to tell the or to Prov him sealf enisen or Not With about 67 white men Well Arm He was shot to Deth the last Words I Hrd him said god nose I did not Do it sense then 2 White men was charge with Being Concerning in it after killing him he was Drug On the ground with his Feets tide to the Hine Buggie Axel and Boddy Draging the ground. He was carried near one Mile Round the town he was a man near 26 yeas old. He Did Not fear a man for His color Dont care what nomber of lettrs you get this is the Feoligy (?) truth. Did you cent My letter open Enney Perticklers cend Redes (registered) lettr.

"We cant tell what we Wantr tell in this town" (No signature.)

Publishers' Page

Prizes

We publish this month pictures of 115 children and we leave lying on our desk over a hundred others which we would like to publish but space fails this time; besides many came too late. Some of the left-overs are so interesting that we may publish them later.

THE FIRST PRIZE in our contest, THE CRISIS cup, goes to the babies on the cover, who live in California.

THE SECOND PRIZE, two years' subscription, goes to the baby on page 267, who lives in Washington, D. C.

THE THIRD PRIZE, one year's subscription, goes to the baby at the top of page 295, who also lives in Washington, D. C.

Our Second Birth Month

November will bring the Second Anniversary Number of THE CRISIS, marking the end of the second year of its existence and the beginning of the third year. The feature of this number will be a review of the history of colored magazines in the United States. Mr. Charles Edward Stowe will contribute an article on the religion of slavery.

Christmas

Richard Brown is at work on our Christmas cover. Our circulation man says 25,000 copies for Christmas, but we can hardly believe him. There will be a Christmas card, of course.

Power in Advertising

Newspaper and magazine advertising is as much a source of convenience to the reader as a benefit to the advertiser. No advertised article is salable unless it either saves time and labor or affords comfort and pleasure.

Our Advertising Department selects and solicits our advertisements with extreme care, looking always to the trustworthiness of the proposition and its possible adaptability to the needs and requirements of our readers.

By keeping our advertising pages up to their present high standard, we will in the near future make them a convenient department store for fireside shopping.

We can only judge your appreciation of our efforts to give you clean advertising by the number of replies received by the advertisers. Look over the half-a-hundred advertisements in this issue and see if there is not one which offers something of interest to you.

Business Matters

ADVERTISING—Address all inquiries to Albon L. Holsey, Advertising Manager.

CIRCULATION—The present circulation of THE CRISIS is 22,000 copies per month, in every State in the Union and in 26 foreign lands. Our circulation books are open to interested parties.

AGENTS—THE CRISIS has at present a staff of 469 agents. Only agents who can furnish first-class references are desired.

LETTERS—Address business letters to W. E. B. Du Bois, Manager. Draw all checks to THE CRISIS, 26 Vesey Street, New York City.

Suffrage Conditions in Democratic and Republican States Compared

By JOSEPH C. MANNING of Alabama

It is in justice to themselves that the American people, during the present demagogic agitation, when so much is being said about the rule of the people, should enter into a calm and dispassionate consideration of certain suffrage conditions in this country that really should appeal to the thoughtfulness and to the sense of fairness of all the voters of the United States for righteous adjustment.

Let those of the American people who may have been led into thinking that the Republican party is not the party of the people, is without popular support, and who have been taught that the Democratic party is the party of the people, having the support of the masses of the people, let these misinformed American voters go into the consideration of facts that are incontrovertible and then determine for themselves whether the Democratic party or the Republican party is the party having the support of the masses of the people.

The so-called rock-ribbed Democratic States of the South are the mainstay and stronghold of the national Democratic party. What of the voting strength backing up the democracy in the dozen Southern States which gave their electoral votes to the Democratic presidential ticket in 1908? The combined vote of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia for the Democratic electoral tickets in 1908 was 1,146,263. There are 5,953,621 males of voting age in these dozen States, and of this number 4,066,067 are white and 1,887,554 are colored. It will be seen that 2,919,804 white males of voting age did not vote the Democratic ticket in support of this Southern democracy, and that the 1,877,554 colored male citizenship of voting age is even a greater number than the Democratic vote of 1,146,263. The combined vote polled by the Democratic delegations in Congress from these States, in 1910, was but 879,676. Having a male citizenship in these dozen States numbering 5,953,623 persons of voting age, while only 1,146,263 ballots dominate in a presidential contest and but 879,676 dominate in congressional elections, these figures, of themselves, are severe enough arraignment of the political party under which such an intolerable condition has become possible. These bald facts refute, lay bare, any pretense or pretext that the Democratic party is a party of the masses of the people.

In the national election in 1908 the State of Alabama had eleven votes in the electoral college. The vote polled for the Bryan electors was 74,374. Minnesota, a Republican State, in 1908, had eleven electoral votes. The vote for Taft in this State was 195,843. The Alabama delegation in Congress was elected in 1910 on 81,400 ballots, while the vote cast for the delegation in Congress from Minnesota, in 1910, was 183,373. The whole vote cast for all candidates for Congress in Alabama, in 1910, was 96,313, while the whole vote cast for all candidates for Congress in Minnesota, in 1910, was 266,145.

Mississippi had ten electoral votes in 1908. The vote for the Bryan electors was 60,287. Kansas had ten electors in 1908, and 197,216 votes were polled in that State for the Taft electors. The delegation in Congress from Mississippi had a combined vote in 1910 of 23,865, while the Kansas delegation in Congress had a combined vote of 161,880. The whole vote for all Congress candidates in Mississippi was 23,865, while the whole vote for all Congress candidates in Kansas was 293,234.

South Carolina had nine electoral votes in 1908 and polled a vote of 62,288 for Bryan. The State of Washington had five electoral votes and polled 106,062 ballots for Taft. Vermont had four electoral votes and polled 39,552 ballots for Taft. Washington and Vermont, both Republican States in 1908, gave Taft a combined vote of 145,614. South Carolina elected the entire Congress delegation on 30,005 ballots in 1910, while the combined vote of Washington and Vermont for the

Congress delegations from these States was 115,427. These two States polled 180,286 votes for all Congress candidates and South Carolina polled 30,005 votes for all Congress candidates.

The first Arkansas congressional district elected R. B. Mason, a Democrat, to Congress in 1910 on a total vote of 2,803. The first Iowa district sent C. A. Kennedy, a Republican, to Congress on a vote of 15,602. The first Georgia district elected C. G. Edwards, a Democrat, on 2,019 ballots. The first Kansas district elected D. R. Anthony, a Republican, on 21,852 ballots. The third Louisiana district gave R. F. Broussard, Democrat, 4,011 votes. The third Pennsylvania district elected J. H. Moore on 23,726 ballots. The eighth Mississippi district elected J. W. Collier, Democrat, on 1,739 votes. The eighth Ohio Congressional district elected F. B. Willis, Republican, on 21,030 votes.

The vote polled for B. L. French, representative in Congress from Idaho, was 46,401. The eleven members of the Georgia delegation in Congress polled a combined vote in 1910 of 45,867. The whole vote cast for all the members of Congress from Louisiana in 1910 was 45,183.

Congressman Stephens of the seventh California district was elected to Congress in 1910 on a total of 36,435 ballots. At the same time there were seven Democratic Congressmen from Arkansas elected on a combined vote of 31,828. The Democratic delegation from Florida had a combined vote of 30,995. In the nineteenth Illinois district Congressman McKinley received 23,107 votes, while eight members of Congress came up from the Democratic State of Mississippi on a combined vote aggregating but 23,865. When a district in New York State was electing Congressman Payne on 21,121 ballots there were six congressional districts in the Southern States that polled a combined vote of 13,764 for the six successful Congress candidates. Ten members of Congress from the South have a combined vote of 26,826 ballots.

It is absurd for Southern Democrats, or for the national Democratic party, of which the Southern democracy is a part of the machine, to make any acclaim for popular government in the face of these twelve Democratic States in the South with 5,953,621 male citizens of voting age being dominated by a Democratic vote aggregating only 1,146,263. It is ridiculous for the democracy to talk about the rule of the people, whereas 4,066,067 whites and 1,887,544 blacks of voting age in these so-called rock-ribbed Democratic States are being governed by a minority party that has reduced the electorate to but 1,146,263 Democratic voters, while the whole vote polled for all electoral candidates in these States in 1908 aggregated only 1,802,510.

Pity those who would exchange the suffrage conditions in those States of the North, where the Republican party has been the dominant party, for the conditions in the States of the South where the Democratic party has maintained its power through fixing the hold of a Bourbon political despotism upon the masses of the people.

The attitude of the Democratic party as to voting rights is shown by the conditions in those States of the South constituting the backbone of the national Democratic party, while in no Republican State has there been instituted intrigue and subterfuge in the forms of law to thwart the rule of the people or to eliminate from the suffrage any class because of color, as is the case in the States of the South.

When the disfranchisement of colored voters was undertaken in Maryland by certain amendments to the constitution of the State, President Taft wrote in a letter to a leading Republican of Maryland as follows: "The whole law ought to be condemned. It is not drawn in the spirit of justice and equality, having regard for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and I sincerely hope that no Republican who desires equality of treatment to the black and white races will vote for it."

Colonel Roosevelt, the third-term candidate for President, announced his acquiescence in the suffrage conditions in the South and in a letter to the president of the Virginia Bar Association, which letter was made public following the presidential election in 1908, made it quite clear that he did not favor any interference with those laws in the South designed to eliminate colored voters. In the article

(*Continued on page 308*)

Subject: Make Friends of Thine Enemies

The greatest boon which civilization has conferred upon free men is the privilege to have a voice in the government and conduct of their own affairs. The symbol of that privilege is the ballot. The legislatures of the several States determine the methods of acquiring, holding, selling and taxation of property, both real and personal. These legislatures are elected by the people who possess the right to cast a ballot. The legislatures of the several States define and prescribe the civil rights of the people within their jurisdiction. Chief among these rights is the right to obtain an education; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures; the right, when accused of crime, to have a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury; the right to freedom of speech and the free and unabridged expression and practice of their religious beliefs are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land. And if Mr. Roosevelt's policies triumph the Constitution of the United States will be subject to amendment and repeal by any temporary majority of the people enjoying the right to cast a ballot. The ballot then is the bulwark of our property, our liberties and our lives.

The bulk of the Negroes in the United States reside in the States of the South. Here they are practically disfranchised and have no voice whatever in the shaping of laws which affect their most vital interests. What, then, is the crying need of the Negro to-day? The right to cast a vote for the protection of his property and life and the welfare of his posterity.

How Can He Obtain That Right?

For forty-two years the Negro has supported the Republican party in the hope that the party which stood sponsor for his freedom would stand as the guardian of his constitutional rights. With the exception of eight years that party has been, for the greater part of the time, in nearly absolute control of all departments of the government. Instead of gaining in the momentous

struggle which he is making for his rights, the Negro has steadily lost ground from year to year. To-day the Republican party, after a fair trial, stands before the world, confessedly unable to secure for the black man the enforcement of the laws which the founders made nearly a half century ago. It is clear then that the Democratic party, which dominates the Southern States, is the one party which has the power to restore to the Negro the right of suffrage.

Since the great majority of educated Negroes are satisfied that the race has paid off in full and with compound interest whatever debt of gratitude it owed the Republican party, their chief concern is the fear that should the Democrats come into power some greater misfortune will befall them. The decisive argument against this fear can be found in the record of the Democratic Congress which adjourned last August. Here was a Congress overwhelmingly Democratic, the first of its kind since 1894. In all its lengthy session but two speeches were made containing a trace of Negro hatred and not a single bill against Negroes was reported from any committee. On the contrary, this Congress passed the greatest of all pension bills, which included, among its beneficiaries, thousands of old Negro soldiers. But the act for which this Congress will be forever remembered is the formation by its Congressional Campaign Committee of the National Colored Democratic League, the first bona fide national political organization of colored men ever formed in this country. This fact sets at rest for all time the argument that the Democratic party does not want the Negro. It has met us half way. Having lost nearly everything, we have but little to lose, but much to gain. The invitation is offered. Reason and intelligence command us to lay aside our prejudices and fears and reach out for the friendship and support of the people who are to-day oppressing us because of our political hostility toward them.

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(Adv.)

Suffrage Conditions in Democratic and Republican States Compared

(*Continued from page 305*)

embracing the letter of Colonel Roosevelt, written October 27, 1908, but not given out for publication until after the November election following, the Washington *Post* said, by way of introduction, that "President Roosevelt is satisfied with the balloting privileges accorded the Negro by the laws of the Southern States." This view will hardly please colored citizens in this country when they know that scarcely more than 3,000 colored citizens are permitted to register for voting in a State like Alabama, for example, whereas there are 213,923 colored male citizens of voting age in this State.

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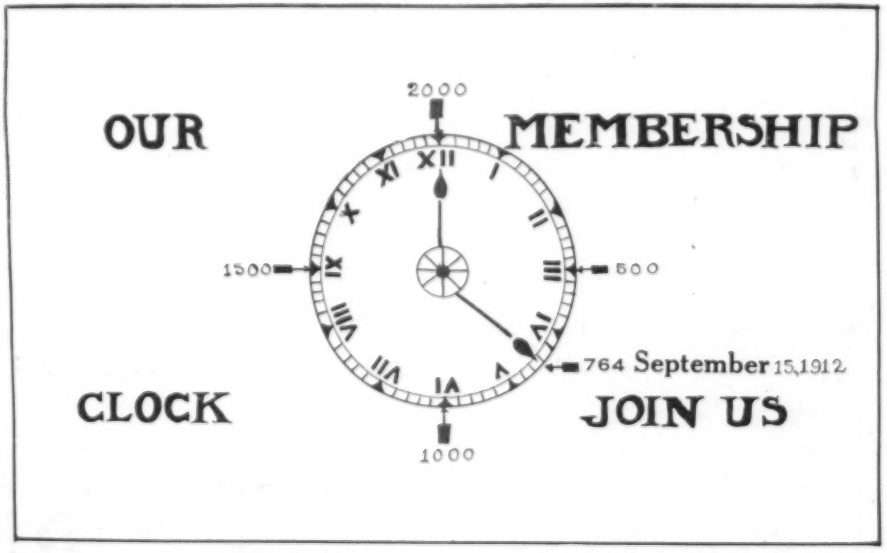

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